

Piracy and Sixteenth-Century Ireland
A Social History of Ireland's Contribution to Pre-Golden Age Piracy

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Abstract

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This thesis examines a selection of High Court of Admiralty depositions pertaining to Ireland in the sixteenth-century. The seventeenth-century ushered in the 'Golden Age' of piracy as well as the plantation of southern Ireland by pirates. Prior to this, the Irish Sea was already active with 'gentlemen of fortune' plying their trade, acting as pawns of war, and providing goods through a black-market; thus creating the foundations for the expansion that followed. This thesis analyses the nature of piracy and its relationship with Ireland during the sixteenth century, by illustrating who may have gained from acts of seaborne depredation; and will further illuminate why the island was such a choice location for pirates to operate from and later relocate to.

Following a political overview of sixteenth-century Ireland this thesis will cover three chapters, each focusing on a different level of society that benefited from piracy. Each section will analyse a set of cases, comprised of individual depositions, to understand the relationship of 'political' piracy, 'official' piracy and 'buyer and merchant' piracy in the context of Pre-Golden Age Ireland. The sources used in this study from the High Court of Admiralty are a resource that have remained largely untapped. The collection has yet to be edited and translated fully. The manuscripts held in the National Archives also remain un-digitized and are at risk of being lost from damage and general degradation. The present work helps to highlight the value of the Court of Admiralty records. The scans presented in the appendices and enclosed pen drive ensures the preservation of this important data as it relates to Ireland in the sixteenth century.

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In memory of my grandfather

Harold Manning

(1915 – 2000)

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Abbreviations

The following is a key to abbreviations used in this study.

AFM	Annals of the Four Masters
AU	Annals of Ulster
CSP	Calendar of State Papers Domestic
CSPI	Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland
HCA	High Court of Admiralty
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
PRO	Public Record Office
TNA	The National Archives

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Introduction

Early maritime piracy, in particular that which occurred around and during the Anglo-Spanish war, has been touched upon by many scholars including E. Keble Chatterton, Patrick Pringle and Clive Senior.¹ However, only recently has attention been redirected from individual famous pirates and mariners such as Drake and Blackbeard to other seafaring men whose names have been largely overlooked and forgotten. Studies published prior to the 1980s with a focus on pirates were largely reliant on Captain Charles Johnson's *A General History of Pirates* and, therefore, addressed many of the same pirates and privateers like Captain Kidd, Anne Bonny and Captain Morgan. Johnson's influence on early pirate studies will be discussed in further detail in the historiography of this thesis.

Since 1980 there remains a void in historical maritime accounts and there exists no comprehensive work on the subject. One notable exception, however, is the English Navy which has been covered extensively.² The inner workings of the maritime community and, indeed, the pirate community remain obscure. Scholars such as Anne Chambers, Joel Baer and John C. Appleby have begun to reveal the 'other men' who lived through such exciting and turbulent periods of maritime expansion and history. These authors among others will be

¹ E. Keble Chatterton, *Pirates and Piracy* (London: Seeley, Service & Co. Ltd., 1914); Patrick Pringle, *Jolly Roger: The Story of the Great Age of Piracy* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co. Inc., 1953); Clive Senior, *A Nation of Pirates: English Piracy in its Heyday* (Devon: David & Charles Ltd., 1976).

² See John B. Hattendorf, et al. eds., *British Naval documents, 1204-1960* (Aldershot: Navy Records Society, 1993); Michael Lewis, *The History of the British Navy* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1959); Richard Harding, *The Royal Navy, 1930-2000 : Innovation and Defence* (London: Frank Cass, 2005); J.R. Hill and B. Ranft, eds., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Royal Navy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002); N.A.M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain* (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997); Eric Grove, *The Royal Navy Since 1815: A New Short History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Brian Lavery, *Nelson's Navy: The Ships, Men and Organisation, 1793-1815* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1989); James Scott Wheeler, *The Making of a World Power: War and the Military Revolution in Seventeenth-Century England* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999). For histories focused on individual naval seamen see Tom Wareham, *The Star Captains: Frigate Command in the Napoleonic Wars* (London: US Naval Institute Press, 2001); J.D. Davies, *Gentlemen and Tarpaulins: The Officers and Men of the Restoration Navy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). For Information on Naval ships see J.J. Colledge and Ben Warlow, *Ships of the Royal Navy: The Complete Record of all Fighting Ships of the Royal Navy from the 15th Century to the Present*, (Newbury: Casemate Publishers, 2010). These lists are not exhaustive.

expanded upon with the historiography, highlighting how their works have contributed to filling the historiographical gap and where further work needs to be done.

There is a dual purpose to this study: first, to uncover not only the functions and practices related to piracy in the sixteenth century, but also to consider why seaborne depredation was allowed to flourish. It is not a comprehensive study but rather an attempt to address the gap in the historical record of piracy. This dissertation will provide an overview of piratical events in the sixteenth-century, as well highlight the impact of the unsettled circumstances of sixteenth-century Ireland. It will show how piracy flourished due to a lack of a strong central authority, continuous warfare and on-going political divisions, and by illustrating who benefited from piracy as it related to Ireland.

This study spans over a century of piracy in Ireland, beginning in 1500 and ending in 1602. This broad time frame provides the relevant context for understanding the final twenty years of the sixteenth century on which much of the primary source material is focused. However, both primary and secondary research stretched far beyond these boundaries in order to provide a broader understanding of piracy in general. With the limitations of extant sources from the sixteenth century, it seemed prudent to make use of all material that was available.

Research and time spent with the High Court of Admiralty papers has resurrected the seamen contained within these pages. Having spent hours joining them on voyages and listening to the accounts of their adventures at sea, commiserating with their grievances and taking note of their possessions and losses, the men that comprise this thesis seem as alive today as they were five hundred years ago. And yet this dissertation is a composite: much of the anecdotal evidence relates to seamen whose accounts provide glimpses into their singular

adventures but do not leave sufficient paper trails for the reader. None the less each experience contributed something to this undertaking.

It should also be understood that much of the extant documentation is from the perspective of officials and thus is reflective of people in position of command, such as Crown representatives and monarchs. These provide an often one-sided perspective on incidents in the past. It must also be considered that the cases as presented by the average seaman may have been recorded biasedly; influenced by the authority that transcribed the depositions. It is the aim of his thesis to offer a more balanced understanding of the more ‘common’ person’s involvement in piracy and the crime’s connection with Ireland. This allows us an interpretation of the role of Ireland’s piracy within the larger timeline of events relating to the British Isles, Continental Europe as well as the Americas.

Historians are ever dependent upon the groundwork laid by those before them; this thesis engages a myriad of secondary works and articles on maritime depredation and related subjects. The main primary sources that were consulted for this particular project include the Calendars of State Papers and Acts of the Privy Council, the Irish Annals and the High Court of Admiralty papers, with the last being particularly central to the study. Where possible, incidences of Irish piracy are related to their larger global context. This study provides a synthesis of previous scholarship on piracy and it attempts to break new ground through its focus on case studies. These case studies reveal Ireland’s contribution to the history of piracy prior to its most prolific era or ‘Golden Age’. Ultimately, this dissertation advances our understanding of Elizabethan maritime depredation and its Irish connections.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Elizabethan maritime culture and history cannot be considered without a thorough foundation in the documents created and maintained by the High Court of Admiralty. For the purposes of this study, I have traced all cases pertaining to Ireland from 1500 to 1600 and specifically identified and documented every case and set of depositions which may have had any relation to piracy. By consulting all cases brought before the High Court of Admiralty within the period under consideration and bringing them in dialogue with contemporary sources and events, this thesis provides a scholarly reconstruction of Ireland's history with piracy.

The High Court of Admiralty was founded in the fourteenth century. Although it was probably established as a response to the increasing cases of piracy, the High Court of Admiralty seems to have been largely ineffective within the early years of its establishment.³ Documents from the first seasons of the Court of Admiralty are slim and incomplete. Furthermore, there is evidence that cases of maritime depredation were still being dealt with by officials of the crown as well as by local tribunals at this time.⁴ However, this changed in the sixteenth century when the court was re-established.

³ The early Court of Admiralty appears to have worked similarly to the common-law courts. The Jurisdiction of the High Court of Admiralty historically included any crimes which involved English vessels or crews that had been committed at sea or near the English coastline. The High Court of Admiralty was responsible for 'prize jurisdiction'; to establish whether a captured ship had been lawfully seized and how the contents of the vessel were to be distributed. It was also held civil trials addressing commercial disputes, wage disputes, pilotage and salvage which fell under 'instance jurisdiction'. Other trials that fell within the jurisdiction of the High Court of Admiralty include criminal trials for accused treason, mutiny, desertion, sodomy, and piracy. This jurisdiction was formally convened in the 16th century by the lord high admiral or his deputy, as well as three to four other persons of position, as appointed by the lord chancellor. For further discussion on the early stages of the High Court of Admiralty see the introduction in Reginald G. Marsden, ed., *Select Pleas in the Court of the Admiralty: Volume I. The Court of the Admiralty of the West (A.D. 1390-1404) and The High Court of Admiralty (A.D. 1527-1545)* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1894.)

⁴ John C. Appleby, ed., *A Calendar of Material relating to Ireland from the High Court of Admiralty Examinations 1536-1641* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1992).

The depositions relating to the High Court of Admiralty's maritime civil and criminal cases are the most important documents consulted.⁵ These documents were chosen for this study due to the detailed contemporary, first-hand accounts provided within them. Most of the testimonies are provided by mariners, shipwrights, ship-owners and merchants; however, port officials and 'land lubbers' are also found providing witness to cases. As such, some of the witnesses have very little direct involvement with or in the maritime community except for their evidence or information relating to the specific cases. The majority of the depositions, however, stem from persons connected to the maritime community of the sixteenth century, primarily men who were tied to the world of seafaring, adventuring, and merchant trading.

The maritime community represented by the High Court depositions was incredibly international in its scope. Due to the focus of this study, the majority of the depositions are provided from Irish or English witnesses; however additional references are given by those of other nationalities where relevant to the case in question. Depositions from Frenchmen and Spanish represent Ireland's relations with these countries as the global market developed, a demand for more exotic goods grew and seafaring became more advanced. These depositions provide an excellent insight into the experiences of ordinary and often obscure individuals while also highlighting the national and international trading routes and transnational exchanges.

The information in the depositions is not limited to the details of the case at hand. The Admiralty papers provide a plethora of information on the witness's occupational and personal lives. Each deposition is prefaced with a heading providing the witness's name, occupation, age and place of residence, usually in Latin. When the testimony begins, the

⁵ See Ibid. See also Kenneth R. Andrews, *English Privateering Voyages to the West Indies 1588-1595* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959). Andrews addresses a few cases with relation to privateering, to which he not only provides selected depositions but personal annotation.

language changes to English; with this change of language there develops from the pages an outcry of voices. Many of the voices are incandescent with hate or obscured with lies, evasions, and contradictions as often the testimonies of victims and their predators follow each other indiscriminately within the same set of files.

Information provided in criminal cases recorded by the High Court tended to contain less information than civil suits, which provided birth origins and traced mobility. When witnesses provided their occupational roles the general term ‘mariner’ would often be proscribed, their precise role upon a voyage would later be revealed in the intricacies of their deposition. The depositions, however, remained void of more personal details as to where they were born, if they were married, or if they had children. Often answers to these types of questions are left to supposition from clues within their narratives. For example, an individual might make reference to owning property or partaking in joint ventures with family members.

Within the Court papers it is common for prominent seafarers to appear multiple times. One example is William Lincoll who appears in not only the High Court depositions but also in the Calendar of State Papers and the Calendar of Cecil Papers.⁶ These reappearances provide valuable insight into individual careers and life choices. The outcomes of the trials to which the depositions belong are often vague. There are hundreds of trial warrants on the backs of which are written the Jury’s verdict ‘Ignoramus’, translating to ‘we don’t know’; this outcome would usually mean acquittal. In some cases there are solid indications that the accused would be sentenced to execution, but there are more in which no indication of the final outcome is given.⁷

⁶ William Lincoll will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 1, ‘Political Piracy’.

⁷ See Evelyn Berckman, *Victims of Piracy: The Admiralty Court 1575-1678* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979).

The High Court of Admiralty depositions accessed for this thesis are held in manuscript form at the National Archives in Kew, London. The manuscripts vary in a degree of their physical conditions; some depositions were in a remarkably good state of preservation, while others had suffered at some time in the last five hundred years from water damage and general degradation. The majority of the depositions accessed were bound in leather covers, while some had been stored separately in cardstock casing. Though well maintained in their physical form, the High Court of Admiralty manuscripts have not been edited entirely or officially digitized and are, therefore in case of natural disaster, in danger of being permanently lost. In an effort to be thorough in the research for this thesis, all depositions relating to Irish piracy have been personally digitized and annotated and can be found in the appendices. These examinations are the most important source for this particular study; they provide an invaluable insight into the intimate dealings of sixteenth-century piracy and Ireland's maritime community.

The cases represented in this study were chosen due to their outstanding examples of piratical acts. In sorting through the High Court of Admiralty Papers individual cases were organised by several criteria. The first requirement was that the case relate to Ireland. The relation was not defined by one standard, therefore a case could contain an Irish merchant or pirate, an act of seaborne depredation could have occurred in Irish waters or that the stolen cargoes from a raid could have ended up in an Irish market. The second requirement was that the case fell into one of three 'benefit' categories, 'Merchant and Buyer', 'Political' and 'Official'. These 'benefit' categories shall be discussed in the following chapters.

Although there are few sources that can rival the Admiralty Court depositions in importance, there are other documents that can usefully be studied alongside them for further contextualisation. The Calendar of State Papers, falling in the reigns of succeeding monarchs Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth I, and the Acts of the Privy Council expand our

understanding of sixteenth-century maritime depredation. The papers include information on the government; and cover a range of topics including social and economic affairs, law and order, the holdings of the crown and contain some references to foreign policy. More importantly for this study, the Calendar of State Papers often incorporate private and official correspondence, instructions and commissions.

The papers represent the most important matters raised for consideration by the Monarch and the Privy Council. The series pertaining to Elizabeth I also include articles from the period outside her reign (1558-1603), where either the major part of the item referred to her reign, or the document in question was a later transcript of an Elizabethan document. Through correspondences between the changing Lord Deputies, Lord Justices and the Monarchs, the ever growing concern and obsession regarding the rise of maritime violence and the growing aggression of mariners, especially during times of war, is highlighted.

These records are readily available in print, edited by Hans Claude Hamilton. They can also be accessed at the National Archives and are digitized and available online.⁸ Within the letters there are discussions of privateering, information regarding the names of captains and ships, and pirating adventures. From these discourses it is possible to identify who the prominent seafarers were. Also interspersed with the correspondences are petitions to the monarchy from individuals inconvenienced by piracy, maimed from failed sailing ventures, and the destitute seeking relief or assistance owing to maritime misfortunes.

The sixteenth century witnessed the expansion and subsequent division of the Habsburg territories. The union of the Holy Roman Empire, the Netherlands and Spanish

⁸ The State Papers were frequently regarded as private property by some of the secretaries of state who chose to incorporate them into their own private collections. Therefore many State Papers are located in numerous other archives, notably the Lansdowne, Harleian, and Cottonian collections of the British Library and at Hatfield House.

holdings under Charles V created a league consisting of England's major trade partners.⁹ Contentions between England and the Holy Roman Empire arose when Henry VIII decided to dissolve his marriage to the Emperor's aunt, Catherine of Aragon.¹⁰ Further diplomatic challenges arose upon the abdication of Charles V in 1556 and the consequent partition of his empire between his son Philip and his brother, Emperor Ferdinand I. English relations with Spain were transformed further by the religious-based Dutch Revolt of 1566 which became the central foreign policy issue for Elizabeth I during the last thirty years of her reign.

The relationship between England and Spain became increasingly strained in the early 1580s and matters of a maritime nature consumed more of the monarchy's time. During this time the line between piracy and privateering was consistently blurred, as armed ships sailed forth bearing Letters of Marque or Letters of Reprisal. The letter, granted by the monarch, permitted the bearer, usually a merchant whose ship had been plundered, to seek reprisal by attacking an enemy in order to recuperate his losses.¹¹ Theoretically a merchant possessing a Letter of Marque or Reprisal was to be recognised as an authorised privateer by international law and therefore escape prosecution as a pirate. In times of war, however, Marques and Reprisals were sometimes distributed indiscriminately with an aim to supplement naval warfare and the activities of privateers mirrored that of pirates.

Valuable data on cases relating to the High Court of Admiralty increases over the period of the Anglo-Spanish wars. Due to these changing patterns in documentation, it is

⁹ Charles V held responsibility in the Netherlands from 1508. In 1515, he turned over control to regents and focused his attention on pursuing control as King of Spain and later the Holy Roman Emperor. Spain came under the control of Charles V in late 1517. For more information see: J.H. Elliot, *Imperial Spain 1469–1716*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2002); Wim Blockman et. al., eds., *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

¹⁰ The annulment of Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine of Aragon was the first in a chain of events which would ultimately lead to England's schism with the Catholic Church. Henry VIII would assume supremacy over religious matters in defiance of Pope Clement VII's refusal to annul the marriage. See, for instance, Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

¹¹ Letters of Marque and Reprisal will be discussed further in chapter one.

possible to construct a fuller picture of piracy in the late sixteenth century. The bulk of the depositions analysed for this thesis are from these contentious years. The wartime entries help elucidate the attitudes towards maritime depredation and the community of seafarers.

Other types of documents have a more limited relevance to the subject under consideration. However, a wider range of sources was consulted for political and historical context. The Irish annals, for example, provide a native, Gaelic perspective on piracy, usually indigenous, and contain no less than 50 possible pirate-related entries spanning the period beginning 1406 to 1601. Some entries are vague and require more research. For example, the Annals of Ulster report in 1514, ‘A Flotilla of long ships and boats was drawn by O’Domnaill on Loch-erne and he was in residence a long time on Inis-Sgillinn. He harries and burn [sic] the island of Cuil-na-noir[th]er, and makes peace with them after that, after imposing his sway on them.’¹² Other entries, however, are more obvious to identify as piratical, including an entry found in the Annals of the Four Masters in 1587 that relates the tale of Hugh Roe who, despite his fame, had the misfortune of falling into the hands of the ‘Lord Justice and the English of Dublin’. Roe having become intoxicated on wine by intention of his captors was then made prisoner on a ship having been baited with spirits.¹³

¹² Sub AU, 1514, B. MacCarthy, ed. and trans., *Annála Ulaðh: Annals of Ulster: A chronicle of Irish Affairs, 1379-1541*. Vol. 3 (Dublin: Alexander Thom & Co., Ltd., 1895). Hereafter AU, 1379-1541.

¹³ ‘...At one time, however, the fame and renown of the fore-mentioned youth, namely Hugh Roe, the son of Hugh, spread throughout the five provinces of Ireland, even before he had arrived at the age of manhood, as being distinguished for wisdom, intellect, personal figure and noble deed; and all persons in general said that he was truly a prodigy, and that should he be allowed to arrive at the age of maturity, the disturbance of the whole island of Ireland would arise through him, and through the earl of Tyrone, should they be engaged on the one side, and that they would carry the sway, being in alliance with each other as we have before stated; so that it was for these reasons the lord justice and the English of Dublin determined in their council what kind of plot they should adopt respecting that circumstance which they dreaded, and the resolution they came to was to fit out in Dublin a ship, with its crew, and a cargo of wine and spirituous liquors, and to send it by the left-hand side of Ireland north eastward, as if it were they went on traffic, and to take port in some harbour on the coasts of Tirconnell. The ship afterwards came with a fair wind from the west, without delay or impediment, until it arrived in the old harbour of Suilth (Lough Swilly, in Donegal, exactly opposite Rath Maolain (Rathmullen), a town which had been formerly founded on the sea shore by Mac Sweeney of Fanat, the hereditary marshal to the lord of Tirconnell. This ship having been moored there by her anchors, a party of the crew came to land in a small boat under the appearance of traffic, and a semblance of peace and amity, and they began to spy and observe, and to sell and bargain with the people who were sent to them, and they state [sic] that they had wine and strong drink with them in their ship; and when Mac Sweeney and his people received intelligence of this,

In all the documentation consulted it can be noted that elite members of maritime society provided an abundance of accounts and records of their experiences, both at sea and on land. Individuals of lesser affluence and their activities are less commonly recorded. This same principal applies to men who habitually found themselves at odds with the law. Therefore, the popular adage ‘Well-behaved women seldom make history’ aptly applies to men of less monetary value, and such behaviour makes a historian’s task easier.¹⁴ With patience, luck and determination the historian can attempt to reconstruct, at the very least, the principle events of a pirating, violent or illegal venture.

By utilising the High Court of Admiralty papers and other governmental documents, the historian can bring voice to men of obscurity and reconstruct some of the finer workings of Irish maritime depredation. Constraints arise in the nature of the sources themselves. The reconstruction of events largely depends upon the volume of paper trails left by the individuals involved. Most of the cases examined are dependent upon documents and occasionally upon the word of men who are reporting of their own ventures. It was usually highly skilled and affluent individuals who appeared before the Admiralty, who partook in sales which were significant enough to be recorded and who were prominent in their respective parishes. Because of these circumstances many of the men under examination are drawn from the elite class of the maritime and merchant community.

they commenced buying and drinking wine until they were intoxicated... When this information was communicated to Mac Sweeney, he was ashamed of himself, so that the resolution he came to was to bring Hugh along with him to the ship, and having decided on that resolution, they went into the small boat which was at the verge of the stand, and they rowed it over to the ship; having been welcomed, they were conveyed down to a cabin in the middle of the ship, without delay or ceremony, and they were served and administered to until they were cheerful and merry; while they were regaled there, the hatch-door was closed behind them, and their arms having been stolen from them, the young son, Hugh Roe, was made a prisoner on that occasion. The report of the capture having spread throughout the country in general, they flocked from all parts to the harbour to see if they could devise any stratagem against those who had committed that treachery, but that was impossible, for they were in the depth of the harbour, after having weighed their anchor, and they had neither ships nor boats at their command to be revenged of them...’ John O’Donovan, ed. and trans., *Annála Rioghachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, from the Earliest Times to the Year 1616*, 2nd ed., 7 vols (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1856), 563. Hereafter *AFM*.

¹⁴ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, “Vertuous Women Found: New England Ministerial Literature, 1668-1735,” *American Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1976), 20-40.

Consequently, the crew and other players are often viewed through the eyes of their ‘superiors’. This work readily acknowledges this bias and does not presume that the life experience of these elite reflect the same as the less skilled and transient. The Admiralty Court papers illustrate that the subordinates’ reports are often quite different from those in authority, and therefore they must be considered with care. As this study relies heavily upon the Court of Admiralty based in London, the records found there are also biased in favour of men from London and the surrounding region of the south of England by nature of convenience.

In this dissertation, I provide an in-depth analysis of nineteen cases, each separated under one of three categories: ‘Political Piracy’, ‘Official Piracy’ and ‘Merchant and Buyer Piracy’. Based on the information provided by the depositions in each case, I bring to light the voices of those that lived in the sixteenth century and their experiences with pirates, either as participants or victims of seaborne depredation. These depositions will serve as evidence to the continual presence of piracy in and around Ireland. The cases enlighten the circumstances of the century that will lead into the ‘Golden Age’ and contribute to our understanding of the ideal atmosphere for piracy to flourish within the seventeenth century.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

The following section will analyse relevant pirate histories. Many of these texts focus on pirate history in general and, more pointedly, ‘famous’ pirates, usually relying heavily on the relations ‘documented’ by Captain Johnson. The influence Johnson’s writing has had on pirate history is undeniable and much of what we associate with pirates stems from his work. Historians that followed in his wake were prone to focus on popular pirates with fantastical stories, many of which were based in the Americas. Numerous of the readily available books are still based on these characters; however, some depart from the standard set of characters in order to focus their attentions on lesser known areas. Ireland is not the first place one would associate the word pirate with, yet piracy was just as prevalent in and around Ireland as it was in the Americas. The focus on Ireland and its role in piratical history has been largely ignored. The early history of Irish piracy is virtually untouched with a general favouring of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Thus, the earlier period remains largely untouched despite the fact that piracy seems to have dominated the seas for centuries.

When considering piracy and its history as represented on the average bookshelf and even some university libraries, one cannot help but notice the plethora of ‘Popular History’, especially with the advent of pirate films such as those produced by Disney: *The Pirates of the Caribbean* ‘Quadrilogy’.¹⁵ Authors such as Jon E. Lewis, Nigel Cawthorne, and Patrick Pringle focus their attention on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, also referred to as the ‘Golden Age’, choosing to highlight individuals of notoriety, most of whom operated in the Americas. These authors, though most of them recently published historians, often refer to and arguably rely heavily upon the accounts of an earlier ‘pirate chronicler’, Captain

¹⁵ The term ‘quadrilogy’ is first recorded in 1865 and is often used in conjunction with movie titles.

Charles Johnson.¹⁶ The identity of Captain Charles Johnson is highly debated in both historical and literary circles and it is generally argued that ‘adventure novelist’ Daniel Defoe penned under this pseudonym.¹⁷

Whether or not Defoe was the author of the *General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pirates* remains undecided. The text’s authorship has been debated since the first suggestion was made in 1932 that there was a link between the work and the writer.¹⁸ Historians and writers of piracy prior to this date, however, believed Charles Johnson to be a real sea captain with close personal links to the many pirates he chronicled. A majority of modern pirate history books are still heavily dependent upon the works of Captain Johnson; who as mentioned seemed to have personally known many pirates or at the very least had access to transcripts of pirate trials and access to contemporary newspapers the likes of the *Daily Post*.

A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pirates, also published as *A General History of the Pyrates*, was first published in 1724. The book was of ‘octavo format’ and was bound in a plain leather that paled upon comparison to the ornate and finely bound bibles and religious works which it sat next to on the shelves of

¹⁶ See Rayner Thrower, *The Pirate Picture* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1980); Peter Earle, *The Pirate Wars* (London: Methuen, 2003); Patrick Pringle, *Jolly Roger: The Story of the Great Age of Piracy* (New York: Dover Publications, 2001); Nigel Cawthorne, *A History of Pirates* (New Jersey: Chartwell Books, Inc., 2003); David Pickering, *Pirates: From Blackbeard to Walking the Plank* (New York: Harper Collins, 2006) and Jon E. Lewis, *The Mammoth Book of Pirates* (London: Constable & Robinson Ltd., 2006). The exception to this list of recently published authors is E. Keble Chatterton’s *Pirates and Piracy* which was originally published in 1914.

¹⁷ Daniel foe, later adding the ‘De’ to his surname, was born around 1660. He lived in Moorfields, East London. He earned his living as a poet, propagandist, political satirist, newspaper reporter and novelist. Historian Eric J. Graham writes that Defoe’s ‘experience with the libel laws taught him to use the cover of a nom de plume or the anonymity of the unsigned “*True Account of...*”’. Eric J. Graham, *Seawolves: Pirates and the Scots* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2005), 119.

¹⁸ For more on the argument of Captain Charles Johnson’s Identity see: Graham, *Seawolves*, 119-32. John Robert Moore, Professor at Indiana University, established the Defoe canon, beginning in 1950 with his hypothesis that *A General History of the Pyrates*, attributed to Captain Charles Johnson, was actually the work of Defoe. It should be noted that Moore added nearly 150 new titles to standard Defoe bibliographies. Further information on Moore and his work on Defoe is available at the Indiana University Archives.

bookstores.¹⁹ The author's name did little to promote the sales of the book; Captain Charles Johnson seems to have been largely unknown at the time. The topic of the book, however, was enticing and the contents were vivid and bloodthirsty accounts of pirates, many of whom were Welsh and English and – therefore - familiar, quickly piqued the interest of the reader. Passages like,

Such a day, rum all out - our company somewhat sober, a damnedd [sic] confusion amongst us! Rogues a plotting - great talk of separation. So I looked sharp for a prize - such a day took one, with a great deal of liquor on board; so kept the company hot, damnedd hot, then all things went well again.

(Edward "Blackbeard" Teach)²⁰

ensured the book was a success. The inclusion of three illustrations made from copper engravings which depicted the infamous villains Bartholomew Roberts, Mary Read and Anne Bonny further helped *A General History*'s popularity and sales.

Johnson's publication recorded no less than 20 pirates active in the 'Golden Age of Piracy' among which are included Henry Avery, Edward Low, Edward Teach and Jack Rackham. In 1726, the first of a two-volume set was released. The second volume, released in 1728, included additional pirates such as William Kidd, Thomas Tew, Captain Gow, Samuel Bellamy and 'Captain Misson', the last of which was eventually proven to be a fictional character.²¹ *A General History* contained graphic accounts of murder, torture, pillage and rape all within colourful settings of exotic locations of which, on occasion, the author would break off mid-idea to provide a short account of the island or coast which the pirates

¹⁹ Charles Johnson, *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pirates* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1998), vii. See also: Septimus Rivington, *The Publishing Family of Rivington* (London: Rivingtons, 1919).

²⁰ Johnson, *General History*, 61-2.

²¹ Ibid., x. Johnson's fantastical account of Misson and the pirate kingdom of 'Libertalia' seems to have been inspired by pirate communities in Madagascar and the democratic nature that was generally adopted on many pirate ships.

choose to inhabit. It is reasonable to conclude that Johnson's work created the modern conception of pirates.²²

The bulk of the text is an unemotional account of the deeds of the pirates, recounted in a legalistic manner. Johnson's narrative is backed by numerous quotes from court records and often includes unofficial transcripts of newspaper accounts for the trials of the pirates he covers. The majority of the sources and facts presented in *A General History* have been proven to be accurate. Arguably, there are a few exceptions though; for example, Johnson takes considerable liberties when he introduces conversations into his biographies.²³ Johnson writes that,

Those facts which he himself was not an eye-witness of he had from the authentic relations of the persons concerned in taking the pirates, as well as from the mouths of the pirates themselves after they were taken, and he conceives no man can produce better testimonies to support the credit of any history.²⁴

From the language used in his book it seems that Johnson was a seaman of some experience. From the appropriate employment of nautical jargon to the detailed knowledge of the inner workings of vessels, *A General History* portrays the author as a man of the sea and not a land lubber; Johnson was entirely conversant with rigging, mooring and anchor work. Whether Captain Charles Johnson was a pseudonym for a contemporary naval captain, merchant ship captain, privateer or even a pirate remains unknown. The lack of any evidence to substantiate

²² Sir Walter Scott's novel *The Pirate* (1821) was based on the life of John Smith, alias Gow. Walter Scott, *The Pirate* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1822); J.M. Barrie, author of the play *Peter Pan* (1904), acknowledged Johnson's book as an inspiration for the idea of Captain Hook. More recently, the main character of Captain Jack Sparrow in Walt Disney's *Pirates of the Caribbean* was inspired by the pirate Jack Rackham, also known as Calico Jack.

²³ An example of this is especially true for his narratives on the lives of Anne Bonny and Mary Read as there remains a void of corroborating evidence.

²⁴ It should be noted that Johnson refers to himself in the third person. Johnson, *A General History*, x.

Johnson's existence apart from his book leaves room for doubt in the genuineness and reliability of his writings, leaving his contributions to pirate history dubious at best.

David Cordingly, author of *Under the Black Flag* (1995) and proclaimed as the 'world's foremost expert on pirates', acknowledges that the version of *A General History* he references is attributed to Daniel Defoe.²⁵ Cordingly's popular pirate history devotes a portion of the introduction to address this debate but he concludes that there is no documentation to prove Charles Johnson is a pseudonym. The debate of Johnson's identity has to date not been resolved.²⁶ Cordingly's research relies heavily upon the earlier chronicler. The organization of Cordingly's book is similar to the other popular pirate histories, providing an overview of a wide range of topics: plundering, life at sea, violence, ships styles, popular haunts, trials, and, as always, popular historical pirates. Cordingly tries to provide a comprehensive study of pirate reality versus the picture painted by literature and films of modern times. However, his argument becomes somewhat lost since he confines most of this emphasis in the introduction and afterword.

The main reservation with regards to Cordingly's work is that there is no discernable overarching narrative, there is no singular thread to tie it together. This is due in part to the nature of the subject matter as his book covers such a broad range of topics tied by a common theme. However, where Cordingly succeeds is in his inclusion of primary source material. Cordingly's use of the Admiralty and Navy board records, High Court Admiralty records and Calendar of State Papers provide excellent illustrations of piracy outside of Johnson's narrative and add merit to the general overview of pirates he provides.

²⁵ Attribution found on the back cover of David Cordingly, *Under The Black Flag: The Romance And The Reality Of Life Among The Pirates* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995). Depending on the date of reprint for *A General History of Pirates* the author may be published as Johnson or Defoe; however, the contents of the books are completely identical. For example, see Dover Publications's 1999 version of *A General History of the Pyrates* which is published with Defoe as the author.

²⁶ "In 1988 two academics, P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens, demolished Moore's theory (Charles Johnson was a pseudonym) in their book *The Canonisation of Daniel Defoe*. They showed there was not a single piece of documentary evidence to link Defoe...and pointed out that there were too many discrepancies between the stories in the book and the other works." David Cordingly, *Under the Black Flag*, xix-xx.

One particular prolific area of study has been the role of women in piracy. Many of these studies, however, do not address the supplemental role women have played in the history of piracy, such as wives or questionable companions, but tend to focus on the very few active women pirates of which there is little documentation. This is illustrated in the limited, or nonexistent, bibliographies of popular history books by authors such as Wallace-Sharp and Sjöholm. Again, there is a clear over reliance on Captain Charles Johnson's history. Anne Wallace-Sharp provides a topical introduction to women pirates from the twelfth-century 'Viking Princesses' to the twentieth-century female Chinese pirate Lai Cho San. She devotes the majority of her book to history's most notorious female pirates: Anne Bonny, Mary Read and Grace O'Malley. Yet her complete lack of an appended bibliography suggests that her characterisations are reliant on oral traditions and not tangible documentation.²⁷

Barbara Sjöholm is another researcher of women in piracy. Her goal, as the title of her book states is in *'Search of Grace O'Malley and Other Legendary Women of the Sea'* (2004). Using a travel style narrative, Sjöholm recounts tales as told to her by locals of various coastal communities from Norway, Sweden, the British Isles and Iceland.²⁸ Grace, or Granuaile O'Malley's represents the stereotype for all historical female pirates everywhere. Living and pirating in the sixteenth century, Ireland's Granuaile captures as much of the imagination as her contemporary in England, Elizabeth I. County Mayo biographer Anne Chambers provides a detailed analysis of Granuaile's remarkable life and career in the west of Ireland and provides a solid bibliography to add weight to her writing.²⁹ Granuaile's piratical, political and personal life is well documented in the Annals of Ireland, the State papers and recorded in correspondences of Sir Henry Sidney, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir John

²⁷ Anne Wallace-Sharp, *Daring Pirate Women* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publication Company, 2002).

²⁸ Barbara Sjöholm, *The Pirate Queen: In Search of Grace O'Malley and Other Legendary Women of the Sea* (Emeryville: Seal Press, 2004).

²⁹ Anne Chambers, *Granuaile: The Life and Times of Grace O'Malley c. 1530-1603* (Dublin: Merlin Publishing, 1989).

Perrott and even the Queen.³⁰ While no book on piracy in Ireland could be complete without mention of her, because of the readily available material and reliable histories already extant addressing Granuaile's exploits, a conscious decision has been made to omit her from this particular study.

Prior to Anne Bonny, Jack Rackham and Edward Teach preying upon ships in the Spanish Main, and before the fascination with the 'Golden Age of Piracy', the waters of the British Isles witnessed the activities of pirates. Adventurers used to relying on Letters of Reprisal or Letters of Marque occasionally turned privateering into piracy to make ends meet. Merchant captains were not adverse to a little profit on the side obtained by trade of pilfered goods, while port officials turned a blind eye to examining trade in return for 'gifts'. Even the Crown turned a blind eye to intrepid mariners when riches were to be made from the New World at the cost of another nation. A few historians focus on this arena of piracy, such as Eric J. Graham, Clive Senior and Richard Zacks.

Richard Zacks's *The Pirate Hunter* (2003) provides a detailed biography of seventeenth-century Captain Kidd.³¹ While still focused on the Golden Age, Zacks departs from the generic format of pirate histories by singling out a solitary figure and expanding on the history around that person. Zacks, like other writers on the topic of piracy, uses his work to describe the much repeated scandalous behavioural patterns of pirates from the late seventeenth century, including but not confined to sex, violence, class bias and injustice which no longer stands up to modern scholarly research. However these stories, interspersed with well-researched knowledge, convincingly hold together his narrative. Zacks's book aims

³⁰ For instance, see correspondence between Sir Richard Bingham and Lord Burghley (10 September 1589); Bingham and Sir Richard Walsingham (21 April 1590); Bingham and the Lord Deputy (12 June 1591). *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1586-1588*, ed. Hans Claude Hamilton (London: Longman & Co., 1887), 232-233, 332-333, 397 respectively. Hereafter *CSPI, 1586-1588*. See also correspondence between the Lord Deputy and Burghley (July 1593); Sir Richard Bingham to Burghley (13 August 1593); Bingham to the Privy Council (23 August 1593). *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth, 1592, October -1596, June*, ed. Hans Claude Hamilton (London: Public Record Office, 1890), 132-136, 140, 141 respectively. Hereafter *CSPI 1592-1596*.

³¹ Richard Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter: The True Story Of Captain Kidd* (Great Britain: REVIEW Ltd., 2003).

to demonstrate that Kidd was not a pirate but a privateer who was crushed beneath the political and economic forces of the age. Zacks illustrates that Kidd was unable to handle these mounting pressures during his final voyage and was therefore unable to walk the fine line between legitimate pirate hunting and piracy.

Zacks cleverly runs two interrelated story lines in his book, recounting Kidd's semi-legal activities while painting the picture of a lesser-known pirate, Robert Culliford. The final third of Zacks's book progresses at a much slower pace as he describes Kidd's imprisonment, trial and eventual verdict. While many of the modern pirate historians try to point out moments in history that live up to the bewildering fantasy-dominated *Pirates of the Caribbean* film genre, only few modern authors, if any, have attempted to accurately retell both the excitements and tribulations of real seafarers from the 'Golden Age of Piracy'. Therefore, *The Pirate Hunter*'s finale is an important contribution in studying the true nature of historical piracy as well as drawing the focus of attention from the Americas to European waters and, specifically, to London.

Eric J. Graham's *Seawolves* (2007) also draws attention to European waters by focusing on Scottish pirates, including not only William Kidd but lesser-known names such as Captain James Macrae and John Gow.³² Again, Graham's narrative finds its basis in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, relying on a well-balanced mixture of sources and including direct quotes from primary sources. The book provides a solid political context for the cases it presents. Of particular interest is Graham's coverage of the trial of Captain Green in the context of the failure of the Darien Scheme. He discusses the English trading companies' aggressive defence of their monopolies and the increasing pressure for political union between Scotland and England.³³ There are two criticisms of *Seawolves* which can be made here. The first is that the book fails to maintain a sense of temporal progression which

³² Graham, *Seawolves*, 85-100 and 139-44 respectively.

³³ Ibid., 145-52 and 156-7.

makes it difficult to track certain narratives across several chapters. The second criticism of Graham's work is that his bibliography is limited and omits several sources which the book would have benefited from, including Zacks's book on William Kidd and the work of historian Clive Senior.

Senior's popular history *A Nation of Pirates* (1976) focuses primarily on pirates acting out of and around England including Ireland. Senior makes extensive use of footnotes throughout his book referencing primary sources, secondary sources as well as unpublished theses. Senior provides a general overview of piracy and structures his book by providing an introduction to early seventeenth-century piracy followed by a discussion of the physical locations in which piracy took place and the impact the different locations had on piratical activity. It is in chapter 2 that Ireland is first mentioned. 'The pirates of the North Atlantic were a different breed of men. They enjoyed greater independence than their counterparts in the Mediterranean and operated from bases in Morocco and southern Ireland, over which they exercised virtual control.'³⁴

Senior's use of the words 'virtual control' may suggest that southern Ireland acted as a European Tortuga counterpart.³⁵ Although this would be an overstatement, pirates did exercise freedom of movement due to the remote and jagged coastline and enjoyed a fairly receptive community in regards to black market trade. In a further chapter on the 'Confederation of Deep-Sea Pirates' Senior states that 'Ireland had a long history of flirtation

³⁴ Senior, *A Nation of Pirates*, 43.

³⁵ Tortuga is a Caribbean island that forms part of Haiti, located off the northwest coast of Hispaniola. From 1630 to 1640, Tortuga was claimed and occupied intermittently by the French, English, and Spanish. Spain captured Tortuga from the English in 1635, however decided to abandon the island as it was too small to be of importance. This abandonment allowed the return of both French and English gentlemen of fortune. In 1640, the Fort de Rocher was built and the buccaneers of Tortuga were calling themselves the 'Brethren of the Coast'. The Brethren were a syndicate of captains with letters of marque and reprisal who regulated their enterprises within the community of privateers and with their benefactors. In 1670, a Welsh privateer by the name of Henry Morgan began to promote himself and invited the pirates of Tortuga to set sail under his name. The pirates kept Tortuga as a neutral hideout for their leisure and stolen cargos. Benerson Little, *The Buccaneer's Realm: Pirate Life on the Spanish Main, 1674-1688* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books Inc., 2007); Graham A. Thomas, *The Buccaneer King: The Story of Captain Henry Morgan* (South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Maritime, 2014).

with piracy going back to the sixteenth century and probably earlier.’ Senior, however does not continue to develop this line of discussion, instead choosing to follow with a series of generalities regarding the ideal geographical nature of Ireland’s coastline to pirates. Senior relies on a 1616 quote of Lord Falkland, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, to illustrate Ireland’s piratical history:

...being here much more cheaply victualed, much more easily out and in at and from sea, which lies opener with less impediments of tides and channels, and lands ends and capes to double, which requires varieties of wind to serve them together with the singular and secure harbours for ships of all burthens to ride in all weathers.³⁶

The relationship between Ireland and piracy is discussed over the length of three pages in which Senior briefly discusses the ‘benefit of clergy’ that is a loop hole in the Irish law, whereby a ‘patently guilty’ but literate pirate could not be tried in a secular court; however, the prisoner could be sent to England for trial.³⁷ He also discusses the village of Baltimore.

In June 1631, Baltimore fell victim to the only recorded instance of a slaving raid by corsairs in Ireland. At the time, the population of Baltimore was comprised of mainly settlers from England who had arrived years earlier to work in the pilchard fishery under lease from the O’Driscoll chieftain, Sir Fineen O’Driscoll. The pirates carried out the raid with two ships that left Algiers, and were a combined force of Dutch, Algerians and Turks under the command of a renegade Dutchman, Murat Reis the Younger. Murat Reis was one of the most successful leaders of Barbary pirates during his time. Before the Corsairs had even reached

³⁶ Senior, *A Nation of Pirates*, 54. Correspondences of a similar nature are found sporadically throughout the sixteenth century, well documented in the Calendar of State Papers. How to protect coastal ports of southern Ireland was of concern to the Privy Council, who in 1549 informed the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland that Lord Cobham would be sent to the south of Ireland, ‘with a navy and army to put the port town in a proper state of defence’ and to ‘survey Cork, Kinsale, Baltimore and Beare Haven.’ (24 June 1549). *CSPI, 1586-1588*, 105. Sir William Herbert observed the ease with which pirates traded, due to the remoteness of the locations, when he wrote, ‘The province generally is made a receptacle of pirates... Sir Edward Denny has received Gascon wine which was robbed from Frenchmen, and Lady Denny has received goods which were taken from Brittaines [sic].’ (24 May 1589). *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth, 1588, August- 1592 September*, ed. Hans Claude Hamilton (London: PRO, 1885), 190-2. Hereafter *CSPI, 1588-1592*.

³⁷ Senior, *A Nation of Pirates*, 54-7.

the coast of West Cork, they had already captured a number of smaller vessels and imprisoned their crews. Reis's original target was most likely Kinsale. However, a captain from one of the previously captured vessels, John Hackett declared the harbour too dangerous for pirates to enter and negotiated his freedom by offering to pilot Reis to the village of Baltimore which had no defenses. Once anchored, the pirates launched an attack on the sleeping village on 19 June 1631. More than 200 armed corsairs torched the thatched roofs of the houses and carried off young and old alike, more than 100 men, women and children had been taken. These captives were abducted back to the ships, which sailed them away from the coves of West Cork to the slave markets of North Africa to carry out their lives as galley slaves or in harems.³⁸ Senior's inclusion of Ireland is a unique perspective for the time period of which he was writing. His departure from the typical Caribbean based well-known pirates is refreshing and insightful. However, his coverage of Ireland's piracy is very superficial and his brief treatment highlights the need for more in-depth research on piracy as it relates to Ireland.

American historian Joel Baer's publication *Pirates of the British Isles* (2005) focuses particularly on British pirates plying their trade, extending a time period from 1660 to 1720. Baer makes use of six case studies which focus on famous pirate captains in an attempt to explore some of the broader forces in action that may have led to the success or failure of their sailing ventures. In a similar way to earlier historians, Baer focuses his writings on the popular period of piracy when salty sea rovers of varying nationalities defied, mocked and challenged the authority of monarchies and social order. This 'Golden Age' of piracy experienced a growth of large-scale and organized maritime depredation, which acquired a

³⁸ For more information regarding Baltimore's sack see Des Ekin, *The Stolen Village: Baltimore and the Barbary Pirates* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press, 2008).

global dimension as a result of what Baer describes as the ‘instability and opportunism of a new age’.³⁹

Well-known adventurers including William Kidd, Bartholomew Roberts, and Henry Morgan as well as William Dampier, Henry Every and Edward ‘Thatch’ (Teach) are used to illustrate piracy at the macro level from a micro perspective. It was Teach who had been immortalized as the formidable ‘Blackbeard’ in *A General History*. Baer endeavors to provide a balanced discussion of his pirates, free of the ever-entwining romance myths; as such, he draws extensively on modern scholarship. While Baer also draws from the earlier work of Johnson, he notes recent critical observations regarding his almost modern journalist predisposition to exaggerate and sensationalise his characters, as well as occasionally invent accounts of piratical activity. Baer adopts a restrained and shrewd approach in employing material from Johnson’s history, which again reiterates the need for a critical study of the identity of Charles Johnson; a study which could eventually provide the groundwork for understanding the value of his work as historical evidence. Given the dubious credentials of the text, it has been over-used by historians.

Pirates of the British Isles succeeds in presenting an informative group of portfolios which demonstrate the fascinating drama of the subject, while drawing attention to the wider influences that shaped piratical enterprise during the period. Baer outlines the careers and seafaring activities, depredations or otherwise, of each of his chosen captains. Baer illustrates how several of his gentlemen of fortune operated in a very grey area that was defined as much by politics as by maritime law, where privateering blurred dangerously into piracy and illegitimate and legitimate plunder was mixed intermittently and presented as sanctioned cargo.

³⁹ Joel Baer, *Pirates of the British Isles* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Limited, 2005), 160.

As a good example of this blurring of lines of lawful pursuits, Baer illustrates Henry Morgan's raids in the Spanish Caribbean from his base, on the island of Jamaica, during the 1660s and early 1670s. The activities of men like Morgan were motivated by the pursuit of personal gain, and justified partly by a thin veneer of patriotism that was born out of the remnants of Anglo-Spanish hostility. As Baer describes them, these men were the 'shock troops of empire, (who)... would also help to provide its legal rationale'.⁴⁰ This is further demonstrated by the expansion of British authority to handle the piracy situation during the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Baer continues with this line of discussion with the introduction of several successive pirate captains, for example William Dampier and William Kidd. Both claimed to operate under lawful commissions, yet led their crews to engage in acts that blurred the lines between legal and illegal acts. The changing nature of piracy is reflected in the career of Henry Every. The second decade of the eighteenth century witnessed a wide ranging evolution in the organization and range of piracy. Baer provides engaging accounts of Every's activities in the Indian Ocean, including his successors. He also provides a fascinating account of Edward Teach who, while alive, simulated maniacal acts of aggression, pain and humiliation in an attempt to not only terrify his victims but his own crew as well; in his death he is said to have swam headless around his ship several times before sinking into Davey Jones' locker.⁴¹ While being repugantly engaging these mini-biographies leave little scope for a critical examination of the broader social and economic consequences of seaborne depredation during these years.

Baer chooses to focus on the relationship between seaborne depredation and the law. He does this most likely as a means of establishing a degree of contextualization, continuity

⁴⁰ Ibid., 23.

⁴¹ For more information on Edward Teach (Blackbeard) see: Dan Parry, *Blackbeard: The Real Pirate of the Caribbean* (London: National Maritime Museum, 2006). See also, Angus Konstam, *Blackbeard: America's Most Notorious Pirate* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2007).

and cohesion for his book. Drawing from his six major case studies in *Pirates of the British Isles*, Baer comes to the conclusion that pirates were not simply anarchist outlaws who rejected social standards and law; rather, they were men trying to act in an educated manner using what knowledge they had of legal procedures and the law in order to aid their strategies for success. Though Baer effectively illustrates where and how his pirates fell into and used the law, his choices in examples means that the focus of his narrative is set in the seventeenth century. As well, much of the activities of his chosen pirates were carried out in places removed from the British Isles, apart from the tie-in with the Admiralty Court of Law and Crown. This leaves scope for further research of what piracy looked like carried out closer to the British Isles and its prevalence in the lead up to the 'Golden Age'.

Despite all the abundance of all the famous names, John Appleby in *Under the Bloody Flag: Pirates of the Tudor Age* (2009) provides a novel scholarly approach by providing a valuable study of lesser-known characters such as Robert Hicks, who pirated Spanish, French and Scottish shipping, and Henry Strangeways, who focused his attacks on French shipping in the Channel and the Irish Sea.⁴² He gives examples of pirates who plundered and pillaged their way to a knighthood. These include the likes of Sir Martin Frobisher, Sir John Hawkins, and most well-known Sir Francis Drake.⁴³ Appleby's book spans the Tudor dynasty, 1485 to 1603, with the majority of the focus given to the latter years. Appleby therefore draws on the period preceding the 'Golden Age of Piracy', thus laying the groundwork for further understanding of how the 'Golden' era of pirates came to be and highlighting an under-explored area of pirate history.

Appleby illustrates four major raids from the second half of the sixteenth century, elaborating on a common theme of motive between outright piracy or crown policy, or even both. Most of these raids are based in the Americas. The first took place off the coast of

⁴² For Robert Hicks see 145-155 and for Henry Strangeways see 66-82 in John C. Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag: Pirates of the Tudor Age* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 100-101, 115, 117-118, 121, 196, 230-231.

Panama in 1577, when Captain John Oxnam pillaged two Spanish barges, looting 160,000 pesos of gold and silver. The second case took place off the coast of Peru in 1579. Sir Francis Drake seized the *Cacafuego* and her treasure of over 447,000 pesos. Appleby then follows Thomas Cavendish's circumnavigation in 1587 which resulted in his appearance off Cabo San Lucas where he plundered the galleon *Santa Ana* and her cargo of 122,000 gold pesos. The fourth prize of the period was the Portuguese carrack, *Madre de Dios*, and her massive loot of nearly £500,000 seized in 1592 off the Azores by Cumberland's ships.

Apart from detailing these four major heists, the majority of Appleby's book is devoted to less infamous pirates, and to their cargos of hides, dyes, sugar, and spices. For most pirates, it was a matter of plundering the business of others for a quick profit and early retirement. However, most voyages of opportunity did not result in prizes, and those that took undue risks, usually did not. Only when an armed pirating vessel or two had superior force, the element of surprise, the windward gauge on a weaker prey, or when they could surprise a poorly defended port town and catch its citizens sleeping, such as the case of the Barbary pirates and Baltimore, could pirates hope to catch a prize. Treasuries laden with gold or silver, such as taken by Hawkins and Drake, were rare.

Some pirates may be interpreted as desperate seaman driven by economic circumstances resulting from poor harvests, inflation, and a lack of jobs to embrace the uncertainties of life at sea. Yet, there remained a slim chance to strike it rich. Appleby argues that voyages sailing under Letters of Marque and Reprisal allowed a cash-strapped monarchy to exercise national sea power at little cost, especially in Queen Elizabeth's reign. In the year 1598 alone, 80 voyages of depredation were recorded, though Appleby notes that the evidence for these is 'patchy'. The greatest hauls came not from nearby coastlines but from across the world in the Caribbean, and the Pacific.

Appleby concludes by rebutting the theory that the Tudor period was merely a prelude to the better known and more popular ‘Golden Age of Piracy’. It would be a fallacy, *post hoc*, to simply see the former as prelude to the latter, as Appleby sharply notes. Appleby’s *Under the Bloody Flag* is heavy on the statistics and documentation creating readily traceable accounts to records from the time frame that he focuses on. Appleby’s strength lies in his analysis, not storytelling. This aspect sets his works apart from earlier historians. That said, *Under the Bloody Flag*’s research makes for a solid new contribution in finding those obscure ciphers, those unknown men who sailed under the bloody flag, often overlooked by historians who are more dazzled by the romantic image of the sun-tanned debonair rogue swashbuckling his way to infamy.

In his article ‘Settlers and Pirates in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland: A Profile of Sir William Hull’, Appleby examines some of the connections between pirates and settlement patterns. Expanding on the basis that pirates were encouraged to settle in less than desirable locations, Appleby focuses his narrative on the life and various careers of William Hull. He suggests that it was common practice for English settlers along the coastal regions of Munster to ‘spend some time serving aboard the pirate vessels which visited the south-west regularly each year’.⁴⁴ He further asserts that quite a number of the pirates ‘may have combined piracy with fishing, spending the autumn and winter months working in the pilchard fishery of the south-west and then joining the pirate ships which came into the smaller Munster ports during the spring and summer months’.⁴⁵

This career pattern is mirrored in Appleby’s narrative of William Hull. A mariner born from a respectable landed Devon family, Hull decided to settle in Leamcon, Co. Cork. The decision was made in the early seventeenth century after a brief and disappointing unsuccessful piratical tryst sailing in the Mediterranean during 1602-1603. Hull served as

⁴⁴ John C. Appleby, ‘Settlers and Pirates in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland: A Profile of Sir William Hull’, *Studia Hibernica*, no. 25 (1990), 77.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

privateer captain of the vessel *Tallbot* in consort with a captain Phillip Ward.⁴⁶ The voyage swiftly degenerated into a 'piratical cruise' against friend or foe indiscriminately. Upon settlement, Hull leased a castle, acquired lands and invested in fisheries. Hull chose to sub-let the castle preferring to build an 'English fashion' manor house nearby for his own residence.⁴⁷ Appleby argues that while the 1604 Anglo-Spanish peace brought legitimate privateering and its enterprising benefits to an end, the following return to peace in Ireland opened new doors of opportunity:

In the disturbed environment of post-war Ireland it was relatively easy for such adventurers to establish themselves in part of the country, particularly along the coastal regions in the west or on adjacent islands, where unofficial planting could often go unobserved.⁴⁸

The political and economic climate of Ireland at the end of the Nine years War (1602) also contributed to the settlement of pirates at the detriment of the island's Gaelic society. For example, the economic decline compounded by political crisis within the O'Mahony family meant that they were forced to lease more and more of their land holdings which, in turn, meant that Hull was able to take advantage of acquiring leasehold interest with the option to ownership.⁴⁹

Having established a reason why it was possible for pirates to gain land in Ireland, Appleby redirects his focus to the process of pirates gaining offices and the results thereof. Hull serves as an excellent example having risen through the ranks from mariner in 1601 to gentleman in 1609. From about 1608 onward Hull acted as deputy vice-admiral in Leamcon.⁵⁰ During the early seventeenth century, Hull came into direct contact with many of the English pirates who visited the coast of Ireland due to his official admiralty position.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 79.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 80.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 81.

⁵⁰ Senior, *A Nation of Pirates*, 140.

‘Under his patronage Leamcon became an important safe haven for pirates; indeed the economy of this small settlement was in part based on the rewards of illicit trade with the pirate community.’⁵¹

Within the first half of Appleby’s narrative he has effectively introduced seventeenth-century Ireland as a breeding ground of opportunity for men wishing to walk a fine-line between legal and illegal activities. By emphasizing the disorganized state of Ireland following the Nine Years War, Appleby successfully introduces pirates and settlers. The profile of William Hull provides a micro history applicable to south-west Ireland’s macro history. Appleby’s article provides engaging narrative and charts to illustrate William Hull’s life. Like his book, Appleby’s article is largely based on primary source material which is footnoted and easy to follow.

His study of William Hull’s life in Ireland reflects English enterprise not only in Ireland but also of English activity across the globe. Hull’s settlement and life at Leamcon highlights the ‘importance of unofficial, uncontrolled, English plantation in the early seventeenth century’ as well as the role piracy continued to play after the settlement of a pirate. Appleby’s study illuminates an unofficial acceptance of piracy during the early seventeenth century. This focused study of Ireland’s place in piracy and settlement still draws its information from and primarily deals with the seventeenth century. The preceding century remains yet to be expanded for us to better understand the dynamics of piracy’s relationship with Ireland and why the two paired so well during seventeenth-century growth and plantation.

Archaeologist Connie Kelleher expands Appleby’s premise of pirate settlers in her paper ‘Pirate Ports and Harbours of West Cork in the Early Seventeenth Century’. Focusing her study on the West Cork landscape, particularly Baltimore, Leamcon and Crookhaven,

⁵¹ Appleby, ‘A Profile of Sir William Hull’, 82.

Kelleher argues that historical studies paired with archaeological assessment of coastal access points identified in remote regions provides solid evidence for a maritime infrastructure which may lend itself to identifying the ‘fundamentals of a definitive pirate landscape’.⁵²

Kelleher’s brief historical introduction emphasizes Appleby’s research that piracy in and around the Irish Sea had a profound influence on local economies, and that the tolerance shown to piratical activities facilitated the colonial effort under the Munster Plantation scheme and, therefore, ‘inadvertently’ suited official government purposes. Kelleher points out that following the 1601 battle of Kinsale, ‘the English pirates arrived into a ready landscape of *still* willing natives who *continued* their traditional maritime trading habits but now identified new opportunities to enlarge trade networks and acquire goods coming from a rapidly expanding international market.’⁵³ This clearly suggests that Ireland was already pre-disposed to trade with piracy if not a haven for pirates already. However, Kelleher devotes one paragraph to address this point, in which she focuses on the private trading of a ruling Gaelic-Irish lordship, the O’Driscolls of Baltimore. The topical treatment of Ireland’s piratical interaction prior to the seventeenth century leaves a large void in the history of Ireland yet to be expanded upon.

‘Pirate Ports and Harbours’ includes narratives from seventeenth-century contemporaries such as Captain Henry Mainwaring, William Hull and Thomas Crooke, men who were all pirates that resettled into a new life in Ireland.⁵⁴ Kelleher explains how the lives of these men tied into the pirate alliance of the southwest, highlighting that the alliance had a code of practice. The code provided a formal stability and acceptable patterns of behaviour which made the alliance stand apart from the basic practice of everyday seaborne depredation

⁵² Connie Kelleher, ‘Pirate Ports and Harbours of West Cork in the Early Seventeenth Century’, *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 8, no. 2 (2013).

⁵³ Emphasis added by the author. *Ibid.*, 354.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 349-351.

out of opportunistic attacks. Kelleher argues that ‘they were perhaps viewed more as privateers, but operating without formal commissions.’⁵⁵

The second half of Kelleher’s paper addresses the geographical advantages of Munster that pirates exploited. She, like Appleby, highlights the physical distance of places like Baltimore and Crookhaven from centres of authority, but also draws attention to elements within the physical landscape that made it conducive to covert activity, suitable for ships, and the transport of men and goods. Kelleher’s argument is that ‘certain geographical criteria can be present in a given landscape to ensure a successful pirate coast.’⁵⁶ She follows this with a survey of monuments, archaeological careening sites and physical features built into the coastlines that she has identified as aids for pirates. She focuses this part of her narrative on two points in particular, the first of which is Dutchman’s Cove. The cove contains recesses in the rock used ‘to house candles or small lanterns’ used to signal to pirates and guide them safely to shore.⁵⁷ The second point is a site known as Streek Head, a set of steps in a remote and dangerous location which Kelleher suggests were carved for the specific function of aiding piracy and smuggling of goods. Kelleher uses historical documentation where available to further support the evidence for her argument.

‘Pirate Ports and Harbours’ provides excellent insight into Irish-based piracy. It makes use of not only historical documentation but also of archaeological and geographical information. Kelleher departs from other historians of piracy by not once referencing Charles Johnson’s debatable history. Her treatment of Appleby’s work is used to provide a framework for her own arguments which further provide information regarding Ireland and piracy in the early seventeenth century. Her paper, however, poses many unanswered questions regarding pre seventeenth-century activities. While she mentions briefly that Gaelic Irish lords were happy to trade with pirates so long as it suited their needs, this is insufficient to explain the

⁵⁵ Ibid., 352.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 353

⁵⁷ Ibid., 362.

zealous pirate settlement in Ireland. The landscape of ‘willing natives’ ready to continue ‘their traditional maritime trading habits’ remains to be expanded upon. Was Ireland always predisposed to trading with pirates and can this be identified pre-seventeenth century? Was it just the Native Gaelic lords benefiting from a ‘black market’? These questions fuel the need to further research and expand upon this area of study.

Both Appleby and Kelleher provide insight into the lesser-known areas of piracy by referencing not only solid secondary sources but relying on many primary sources for their arguments. Use of State Papers and The High Court of Admiralty provide a sound groundwork of maritime related court case material that is neatly and concisely summarized and explained. Perhaps the most beneficial work of Appleby’s to this study is his work on the court cases relating to Ireland found within the High Court of Admiralty paper collection. It is from these sources that I have based this study of pre-‘Golden Age’, pre-seventeenth-century Irish piracy. In light of the extant scholarship and the continued focus of pirate activity in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, a study of the earlier period will offer insight as to *why* piracy became so prevalent during those later periods. Using individual cases from the High Court of Admiralty I aim to provide a portrait of sixteenth-century piracy and its relationship with Ireland.

Historical overview of sixteenth-century Ireland and its connections to Europe, in correlation to piracy.

The unsettled circumstances of sixteenth-century Ireland provided a seedbed for piracy. To comprehensively understand this situation it is necessary to have an overview of Irish politics in the later middle ages. In the sixteenth century, there was no simple dichotomy between Irish and 'English' communities living in Ireland. That is not to say that there were no generational Irish and no colonial English, for as will be discussed, there were. There were however blurred boundaries of culture, language and loyalties that negate any attempt to categorize Ireland simply into two halves at any given time. Ireland by the sixteenth century had established itself as an international port, trading with Europe and beyond.⁵⁸ Its ties and trade links with France and Spain were already well established before England attempted to exert any real control over the island. These links would later cause contention between England and those residing in Ireland, impacting on the development of piracy in Ireland.

Sixteenth-century Ireland was heavily influenced and shaped by the conquest initiated by Anglo-Normans in the late twelfth century which had been largely left incomplete. Much of the native Gaelic political elite had been displaced from their home lands and in their place English adventurers and entrepreneurs attempted to establish mini-Anglo style estates and institutions. The Pale was established during the late fifteenth century, covering an area on the east coast of Ireland and extending from Dundalk in the North to the Wicklow Mountains to the south. This included the modern counties of Dublin, Louth, and Meath. Areas of delegated control under the English earldoms outside of the Pale included Westmeath,

⁵⁸ For further reading see Jean-Michel Picard, *Aquitaine and Ireland in the Middle Ages*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995).

Kildare, Offaly and Laois.⁵⁹ Within the protection of the Pale, English law, politics, culture, and language thrived. Outside of the fortified area, however, it was a much more complex and different story.

The native Irish remained mainly outside of English jurisdiction. The Irish maintained their own laws, culture and language, and were often looked down upon by the English both in Ireland and in England. Ireland remained a separate realm and the island was considered a lordship - a title which was assumed by the King or Queen of England upon enthronement up until 1542. By the fourteenth century, the Gaelicisation of the English in Ireland was well attested. The rise of Gaelic influence concerned many English living outside of Ireland, as the general consensus was that the Irish were a barbarous and backwards people, an attitude that eventually resulted in the English passing of the Statutes of Kilkenny in 1366 which outlawed many Gaelic social practices among the Anglo-Irish including the use of the Irish language and cross-cultural marriage. However, the English government during the fifteenth century was preoccupied with the Wars of the Roses. Its influence and control in Ireland remained dependent on a landed aristocracy and imposed Lord Deputies, whose power on behalf of the English government was relatively weak.

Outside of the Pale, the authority of the government in Dublin was sporadic and ineffective. The invading Anglo-Norman lords had established fiefdoms for themselves, yet found it difficult to entice English tenants to immigrate to Ireland and inhabit their lands. The lack of a strong Anglo-Norman presence combined with Gaelic backlash, the Black Death, as well as the Scottish invasion of Edward the Bruce and an overall lack of interest from the English monarchy, created in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a high degree of independence for the Lords controlling new territories. Many Anglo-Irish families over the

⁵⁹ This area of Ireland, 'the pale', originates its name in the fourteenth century from the Latin *palus*, which means 'stake', more specifically a stake to mark a border. From this word came the figurative meaning of boundary. Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 59-66.

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries embraced Gaelic language and culture and established or employed their own armies and enforced their own laws.⁶⁰ They would later be dubbed the 'Old English'.

Apart from the territories held directly by Anglo-Irish families, large tracts of land that had been confiscated during the Anglo-Norman invasions in the north and midlands of Ireland were repossessed from the late thirteenth century by the resurgent Gaelic Irish, who had sought refuge in marginal areas of Ireland. Prominent native Irish families included the O'Neills in central Ulster, the O' Byrnes and O'Tooles in Wicklow, the Kavanaghs in Wexford, the MacCarthys and O'Sullivans in Cork and Kerry, and the O'Briens of Clare.⁶¹

By the early sixteenth century, English monarchs had delegated the government of Ireland to the most powerful and trustful Anglo-Irish family, the Fitzgeralds of Kildare. This allowed the English administration to keep a presence in Ireland and protect the Pale, without having to waste much expenditure. Henry VII created the position of Lord Deputy of Ireland as chief of the administration based in Dublin. The Lord Deputy acting on behalf of the monarch and government of England held very limited power, maintained no formal court and received a very limited budget to work with.⁶² It was not until 1495 that Poynings' laws were passed which imposed English Statute law completely upon the lordship and compromised the independence of the Irish parliament.⁶³

The Fitzgeralds in Kildare held the post of Lord Deputy until 1534. At that time, the English government deemed the House of Kildare unreliable, the Fitzgeralds having

⁶⁰ A significant attempt to establish English 'control' in Ireland is made by Henry VII in 1494. Henry VII sent Sir Edward Poynings to Ireland with a full contingent of English administrators to enact English supremacy.

⁶¹ G.A. Hayes-McCoy, *Irish Battles, A Military History Of Ireland*, (Belfast: The Appletree Press Ltd., 1990) 4-7.

⁶² Notably, the Lord Deputy did have some power and control; for example, the Lord Deputy held the power to call together the Parliament of Ireland, which he did whenever he needed to pass a new law or raise new taxes.

⁶³ S.J. Connolly, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 457-458.

supported a Yorkist pretender, Lambert Simnel, by inviting him to Dublin to crown him King of England in 1487.⁶⁴ In doing so, they had crossed a line.⁶⁵ The resulting shift of power in Ireland would eventually culminate in a rebellion after the head of the Butlers of Ormond, the hereditary rivals of the Fitzgeralds, was declared Lord Deputy of Ireland. This dispute symbolised the tensions between Ireland and England during the 1500s.

Henry VII died on 21 April 1509, leaving his son Henry VIII as heir to the throne. Henry VIII spent much of his early years of his reign dreaming of ways to revive the riches of centuries past when England had ruled extensive territories in France. In 1511, the warship the *Mary Rose* was launched and in 1512 Henry went to war with France; this would not be the last time the English monarchy flexed its naval power. The English won the battle of the Spurs in August 1513. A truce was concluded in the following year and Henry's sister Mary was married to the king of France.⁶⁶ In 1520, Henry VIII was again in France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Ireland was not the focus of Henry VIII's attention at this time; France had caught his eye and his purse strings. In 1529, he called the 'Reformation Parliament' and ties between Rome and England were severed gradually until Henry VIII rejected the Pope's authority entirely.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland, the Incomplete Conquest*, 2nd ed. (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2005), 74.

⁶⁵ The Late fifteenth century saw England in a series of civil wars between two feuding dynasties, the Yorkists and the Lancastrians. The wars only ended when Lancastrian Henry Tudor won the battle of Bosworth, defeating Richard III in 1485. Henry Tudor was crowned in October 1485, thereby becoming Henry VII. Despite uniting the two dynasties through marriage, many Yorkists remained unwilling to accept Henry on the throne, claiming that Lambert Simnel was the rightful king and gathered an army in Ireland to launch an attack. For more information see Trevor Royal, *The Road to Bosworth Field: A New History of the Wars of the Roses* (London: Little, Brown, 2009). Recently it has been argued that the war ended with the Battle of Stoke in 1487. For more information see Michael Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).

⁶⁶ Notably, Henry launched a second ship, christened the *Henry Grace a Dieu* in the same year. A physical representation of England's naval power. N. A. M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain 660–1649* (London: W.W. Norton & Company Ltd., 1999), 165–6.

⁶⁷ Although Henry VIII broke his ties with Rome, he kept the Catholic religion essentially untouched. Thomas Cromwell, in 1538, added a few reforms including that every church should have an English translation of the bible. The religion remained mainly intact by the time the Act of the Six Articles was passed in the following year. G. W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*, (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 2007) 497-506.

The Reformation by which Henry VIII broke ties with the papacy added to the growing schism between England and Ireland. Protestantism was to gain in influence within England, but it stalled in Ireland.⁶⁸ After Henry VIII declared himself head of the church in England, by the ‘Act of Supremacy’ in 1534 the Monarch attempted to take the same action in Ireland.⁶⁹ In 1535, Thomas Fitzgerald, immortalized as ‘Silken Thomas’, Earl of Kildare and a staunch Catholic, wrote to Pope Clement VII in Rome and to Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire offering each control of Ireland.⁷⁰ The rebellion led by Thomas Fitzgerald was quickly quelled by Henry VIII through the execution of Fitzgerald alongside several of his uncles. In this way, the Crown ended the role of ‘Old English families’ in the position of Lord Deputy.

The monarch was left to find a cost-effective policy that would protect the Pale and guarantee the safety of England’s investments in Ireland from foreign invasion. Henry implemented the system of ‘Surrender and Re-grant’. This policy extended royal protection to all of the elite families of Ireland regardless of ethnicity. In return for the royal protection the families would surrender the land under their control to the Crown, which they would then receive back in return by royal charter and the head of the family would be assigned a stately position. This charter would then have to be renewed with each new generational head, at the monarch’s discretion.

⁶⁸ After Henry VIII’s death, his young son Edward VI inherited the crown. Nine years being too young to rule effectively, Edward Seymour, the duke of Somerset, was proclaimed protector and ruled in Edward VI’s stead. Somerset was Protestant and worked with Archbishop Cranmer, also a devout Protestant, to change England’s religion. The Act of Six Articles was repealed and 1549 ushered in the first Book of Common Prayer. Phillip Caraman, *The Western Rising, 1549: the Prayer Book Rebellion* (Tiverton: Westcountry Books, 1994), 64-8.

⁶⁹ The Irish parliament passed an Act of Supremacy in 1536 and followed it with another measure in 1541 which recognized Henry VIII as king of Ireland.

⁷⁰ Charles V eventually became the ruler of the Spanish empire from 1516 to 1556. See Wim Blockmans, *Emperor Charles V: 1500-1558* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2001), 60, 68; Francesco Guicciardini, *History of Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 363-4; Charles William Chadwick Oman, *Art of War in the Middle Ages: AD 378-1515* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1960), 211.

A statute was passed by the Irish parliament in 1541, in which the lordship of Ireland was converted to the 'Kingdom of Ireland'. The overall concept was to forcibly assimilate the native Irish upper-class and the Anglo-Irish or 'Old English' and to secure loyalty to the crown. To this end the native Irish leaders and the Anglo-Irish families were provided with new English titles and admitted to the Irish parliament. One such example of this was the earldom of Tyrone created for the great Irish family O'Neill in 1542.

In practice and on paper, the various families and clans accepted their new positions, but carried on ruling and living as they always had. For the majority of the Irish lordships the English monarch differed little from previous 'high kings' and, therefore, many continued to exercise the same control as before they had signed the policy. However, the increasing encroachment of the Tudor monarchy and government upon local autonomy by the development of a centralised state would starkly expose the differences between the English system of government and that of the Gaelic Irish system. A conflict of interests soon followed. Henry VIII's religious Reformation, though not as severe as in England, caused extreme unrest in Ireland. Despite the appointment of Anthony St Leger as Lord Deputy, tasked with the repression of the disorder and attempts to pacify opposition by granting lands to Irish nobles, the discontent continued to grow.⁷¹

After Henry VIII's death 28 January 1547, consecutive Lord Deputies of Ireland found that the establishment and ruling of a central government in Ireland was far more tasking than securing a signature on parchment from the local lords. Successive rebellions flared up as England faced an economic crisis with rapid inflation in the mid sixteenth century. In 1549, Edward VI was forced to tackle two rebellions in England; the first was the

⁷¹ Henry VIII was again at war in 1542 against the Scots and, in 1543, he again turned his focus to France. He captured Boulogne; however, the English King was forced to return to England under threat of invasion. The French sent a fleet to the Solent, the stretch between Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight, and men landed on the Isle of Wight. The French were eventually forced to withdraw their advances, however, at the expense of Henry VIII's ship the *Mary Rose*.

‘Prayer book’ rebellion, followed by a rebellion in Norfolk led by Robert Kett in which the rebels took control of Norwich.⁷² The rebellions eventually led to the fall of Edward VI’s uncle Edward Seymour who, in 1552, was executed and his position as the Earl Marshal of England was bestowed upon John Dudley.

In 1556, the policy of plantation was adopted in the search for a long-term solution to the Irish problem. Areas of Ireland were confiscated with an attempt to populate the land with people from England. The English would bring with them their language and culture and, most importantly, their loyalty to the crown. The O’Moore and the O’Connors of Queen’s country and King’s country (modern Laois and Offaly) in Leinster were some of the first to be displaced by the plantation.⁷³ The O’Moore and O’Connor clans were traditionally known as raiders on the English Pale around Dublin. While the Lord Deputy Thomas Radclyffe, the 3rd Earl of Sussex, made preparations to remove both clans, they retreated to the hills and bogs. From there they used guerrilla tactics to wage war against the settlement of the English for nearly 40 years. The English finally repressed the O’Moore by massacring most of the ruling family of the clan at Mullaghmast in Laois, having invited them there under false pretence of peace talks. Further English attempts to interfere in a succession dispute of the O’Neills in 1565 initiated a drawn out war between Lord Deputy Sussex and clan leader Shane O’Neill.

During this period other Irish lordships started private wars and conducted treaties oblivious to the government in Dublin and its laws. The O’Byrnes and the O’Tooles continued to raid the Pale as they had been doing centuries before. One name most synonymous with rebellion in Ireland, however, is Fitzgerald of Desmond. The Fitzgeralds

⁷² Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 59-64.

⁷³ The territories were named after the Catholic monarchs Philip and Mary. The new county towns were named Philipstown (modern Daingean) and Mary borough (modern Port Laois). 1556, 3&4 Phil. & Mar. c. 2, ‘Statute Law Revision (Pre-Union Irish Statutes) Act, 1962’, accessed December 6, 2013, <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/1962/en/act/pub/0029/sched1.html>.

launched the Desmond Rebellions in Munster between 1560 and 1590 during which their aim was to prevent direct English influence into their territory and to protect their power. The Earl of Desmond was killed and the second of the Desmond Rebellions was quashed by means of a forced famine in 1583 in which nearly a third of the province's population were killed.⁷⁴

Although there are several reasons for the on-going violence that plagued Ireland during the sixteenth century, two factors stand out. The first is the warfare perpetuated by aggression of the 'new' English coming into Ireland, the administrators and soldiers. In a letter of Sir Robert Cecil, the Secretary of State writes referring to the English soldiers, 'The poor English are half dead before they come there [Ireland], for the very name of Ireland do break their hearts, it is now grown to such a misery'.⁷⁵ Personal interest clashes between those sent to be in charge and both the natives and 'Old English' often sparked contention and personal vendetta. Standing armies and even passing garrisons were taxing to support for local communities and lawlessness within the ranks would lead to excessive violence and seizure or burning of clan and family land, provoking further rebellion from those that survived. The contemporary chronicler William Farmer writes of Lord Charles Blount, the 8th Baron Mountjoy, and his occupation and ultimately devastation of Ulster: 'No spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns, and especially in wasted counties, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead, with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks and the things they could rend up above ground'.⁷⁶

A second longer, deeper rooted problem and cause to the violence of the sixteenth century was the incompatibility of Gaelic Irish society with that of English Law and central government. The most notable incompatibility was the English system of primogeniture.

⁷⁴ Eleanor Hull, *A History of Ireland and Her People* (Stratford: Ayer Company Publishers, 1972), 364.

⁷⁵ Ernest George Atkinson, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1599-1600*. (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1899), 334. Hereafter *CSPI, 1599-1600*.

⁷⁶ William Farmer and C.L. Falkiner, 'William Farmer's Chronicles of Ireland from 1594 to 1613', *English Historical Review* 22 (1907), 129-130.

Despite violence which could arise, the Irish custom of electing a new 'king' or 'chief' was decided from the *derbfine*, a small select group of eligible nobles. However, under Henry VIII's imposition, succession was by primogeniture whereby the inheritance went to the first-born son, as was custom in England.⁷⁷ The imposition of primogeniture caused violent disputes within Irish lordships, in which the English took sides.

Entire sections of Gaelic-Irish society had reason to oppose English rule as their livelihoods depended upon it. These groups included the mercenaries. Many gallowglasses had immigrated to Ireland since the thirteenth century to fight for a fee. They had eventually established themselves permanently in Ireland. The Irish learned classes were also threatened. The Irish poet, bard or *file* often held a high post not only as an entertainer but clan historian for the landed nobility.⁷⁸ Both of these social positions would have their source of income and status abolished through the imposition of centralised English rule in Ireland.

Under the reigns of Mary I⁷⁹ and Elizabeth I, the 'New English' gained positions of influence and power in Ireland. They tried many different solutions to pacify the native people.⁸⁰ The first of these initiatives was the use of martial law. Areas deemed violent, such

⁷⁷ Primogeniture was intended to result in fewer disputes over inheritance and reduce the distribution of landed wealth.

⁷⁸ Irish poets found patrons even in the households of the great feudal lords. The attempt to separate the Native Irish and the Anglo-Irish had found expression in fourteenth-, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century acts of Parliament which forbade the maintenance of Irish customs in any English areas. However, as these were not backed by military force, many of these proclamations failed to have any considerable or lasting effect for the poets at that time. Lennon, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland*, 63-65.

⁷⁹ Edward VI died 6 July 1553 at the age of 15. Mary I was a devout Catholic and she disapproved of the religious changes set in motion by her father Henry VIII and half-brother Edward VI. Once crowned queen following Edward VI's death, Mary I was married to the king of Spain, Phillip II, in July 1554. This union caused political unrest in Kent and sparked a rebellion which was defeated. Mary I endeavored to undo all the religious changes the two preceding reigns had put into place. Catholic mass was reinstated December 1553 and in November 1554 the Act of Supremacy was repealed. In 1555, she began to hunt Protestants. Again in 1557, England entered into war with France and, in 1558, lost Calais, which was considered a major loss as it had been under English rule since 1453. Mary I died on the 17 November 1558 and Elizabeth I assumed the crown. H.F.M. Prescott, *Mary Tudor: The Spanish Tudor* (London: Phoenix Press, 2003).

⁸⁰ Following the death of Mary I, Elizabeth I was crowned Queen in January 1559. Elizabeth I quickly set about to re-establish the reforms her father and brother had started. She restored the Act of Supremacy in April 1559 and set about swapping clergy in the churches to those that would recognize her as the head of the church. In 1585, it was decreed that all Catholic priests were to leave England within a certain amount of days or be prepared to face charges of treason.

as Wicklow, were garrisoned by a number of English troops. The Seneschal or leader of the troops held the power of martial law and, therefore, the power to execute without trial. Each person under the Seneschal's power of jurisdiction had to be accounted for, that is they had to be 'vouched for' by the local lord of the area. Men found unaccounted for could be put to death. The intention of this initiative was to hold Lords accountable for the men under them and thereby curb raiding expeditions. In practice, however, it merely fuelled the dissonance between the native lords and the English.

The English were eventually forced to conceptualize new ways to bring Ireland's unruly population under their thumb and to eventually Anglicise them. The idea materialized in the form of composition. Private standing armies were abolished and provinces found themselves occupied and supporting English troops under the command of Governors, given the title 'Lord President'. In return for their loyalty, native lords, both Gaelic and 'Old English', were exempted from taxation and were granted their rights to the rents from those subordinate to them on a statutory basis.

This tactic was met with limited success as, for example, in Thomond the ruling family of the O'Briens supported the initiative. However, the imposition of this rule was marked by bitterness, disdain and violence by an even larger population of native lords. In Connacht, the MacWilliam Burkes fought a long, bloody and drawn out war with English Provincial President Sir Richard Bingham and his subordinate, Nicholas Malby. The interference of the English was one of the major causes of the Desmond Rebellions in Munster.⁸¹

The plantation process in Ireland started in 1550, in modern counties of Laois and Offaly, with Laois specifically being 'shired' by Mary I as 'Queen's County'. However, due

⁸¹ Lennon, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland*, 212-213, 225-9.

to the continuing violence from the O'Moores and the O'Connors the English authorities found it difficult to attract people to settle in the new plantation and any settlement that took place ended up clustered around a series of military fortifications.⁸²

This process of plantation was attempted again in 1570 in Antrim and, again, in 1586 after the Desmond Rebellions when areas of Munster were confiscated to re-home English. The Munster Plantation was instituted as punishment for the Rebellions, yet all attempts met with limited success, especially in Munster where the attempt was not pursued wholeheartedly and met barriers when Irish landowners decided to exercise their rights to court and sue.⁸³ The Munster Plantation was supposed to result in an easily defensible settlement; in reality, however, the English colonists were spread apart and strewn across the province. The largest grant of land was given to Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh was marginally interested in maintaining this land which he eventually sold to Sir Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Cork and lord treasurer of Ireland.⁸⁴

⁸² Ibid., 169-70.

⁸³ In 1584, Sir Valentine Browne, then 'Surveyor General' of Ireland, partook in a commission to survey Munster and to allocate confiscated lands to a select group of New English. The New English were expected to build new towns and provide defense of the new plantations from attack. The survey covered modern counties Limerick, Cork, Kerry, and Tipperary; also considered in the survey were lands belonging to other families and clans that had supported the Desmond Rebellions. The clan MacCarthy Mór appealed the dispossession of their 'dependents' arguing that the rebel landowners had 'been *their* subordinates and therefore the land in reality belonged not to those families but to them.' Ibid., 229-230 and 234.

⁸⁴ (26 October 1620) and (9 November 1631) respectively. Boyle, it should be noted, led a varied political life. Having been arrested under accusations of covert papist infiltration and charges of fraud and collusion with the Spanish, Boyle was put in gaol by Sir William FitzWilliam in 1592. The rebellions in Munster left Boyle's lands 'wasted' and he was reduced to poverty. The Nine Years War forced him to flee to London. Boyle's adversaries eventually failed to substantiate their accusations against him and he found favour with Elizabeth I and was appointed to Clerk of the Council of Munster in 1600, eventually to be knighted at St Mary's Abby. Boyle's life is a clear example of the many masks a man might wear, especially during this time period: perpetrator, spy, beggar, and Knight. This is a theme which will be repeated in many of the 'New English' sent to Ireland. Toby Barnard, 'Boyle, Richard, first earl of Cork (1566-1643)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press 2004, accessed April 7, 2016, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3133?docPos=2>. See also Sidney Lee, ed., *The Concise Dictionary of National Biography: From the Beginnings up to 1911 being an Epitome of the Main Work and its supplement 1901-1911* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920), 133; John Lodge and Mervyn Archdall, *The Peerage of Ireland: A Genealogical History of the Present Nobility of that Kingdom* (Dublin: J Moore, 1789), 152-6.

The Papacy had maintained a neutral stance during the period 1558 up until 1570 when it declared Queen Elizabeth I a heretic in the bull *Regnans in Excelsis*.⁸⁵ This caused great upheaval for English ambitions in Ireland. As excommunication hung over their heads and as Elizabeth I's authority to rule had been denied, it was the view of observant Roman Catholics that her officials in Ireland were thereby also acting unlawfully. In reality, most Irish, of all classes and ranks, remained Catholic. The papal bull, far from aiding practicing Catholics, provided Elizabeth I and her protestant administrators with a new fire to expedite the conquest of Ireland.

Religion became the new marker of loyalty to the crown and in 1579-1583, when the second Desmond Rebellion was waging, the papacy aided Ireland by sending papal troops. As the sixteenth century progressed, the question of religion too progressed and grew. Both Irish and Old English families, such as the FitzGeralds and the O'Neills, sought and received help in different ways from various Catholic powers in Europe, calling on aid for their actions with a justification rooted in religious ideologies. Therefore, the confiscation of lands under the new plantation scheme did not only alienate the Gaelic Irish solely but was also opposed by the 'Old English', the latter community fast growing in its fervent commitment to Catholicism. Yet many within the Pale and even some Irish lords did not consider these families to be genuine in their religious motivation. In the century to follow, Ireland would develop a stark rift between Catholics and Protestants, especially after the Plantation of Ulster by English and Scots Presbyterians.

As Protestantism expanded, England increasingly found itself engaged internationally. The Catholic King of Spain, Phillip II, also ruled the Netherlands. Phillip was faced with

⁸⁵ The papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis* or 'reigning on high' was issued 25 February 1570 by Pope Pius V and declared Elizabeth I to be a heretic and released any subjects from any allegiance to her and excommunicated any that obeyed her orders. Patrick McGrath, *Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I* (Poole: Blandford Press, 1967), 69. See also, Papal encyclicals online, '*Regnans in Excelsis*: Excommunicating Elizabeth I of England-Pope St. Pius V-25, February 1570', accessed December 14, 2013, <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius05/p5regnans.htm>.

increasing religious disturbances as the Dutch embraced the Protestant religion and eventually rebelled against him in 1568. Phillip II stood as a defender of his faith and actively tried to suppress the growing Protestant dissidents. England initially remained neutral, however cries in support of the Protestant rebels from her own people increased the tensions between England and Spain. From 1578 onwards, the Catholic Spanish appeared to be the likely victors in the contention, so that in 1585 Elizabeth I was forced to send soldiers in aid of the Dutch cause, officially launching the Anglo-Spanish War.

Spain was seen as a superpower in the sixteenth century and her presence was felt everywhere on the seas. As a result of a personal vendetta,⁸⁶ Elizabeth I was forced, at various times throughout the late sixteenth century, to turn a blind eye to some of her seafaring subjects as they started a profitable trend of 'sea adventuring', a pastime that would draw Spain and England into many long disputes.⁸⁷ Phillip II of Spain had made plans for the invasion of England and was drawing together a fleet of great size for the task.⁸⁸ Many examples of the English apprehension towards the rumour of a Spanish armada landing in Ireland with the intention of using the isle as an entry into England can be found in the correspondences between Irish officials and English authorities. For example, in December of 1587 Sir John Perrot writes that '...the Spaniards intended to come to this realm this winter'.⁸⁹ His intentions were to voice his concerns to Sir Francis Walsingham of the

⁸⁶ John Hawkins was an English slave trader, transporting slaves from Guinea to the West Indies. In 1568, Hawkins was attacked by the Spanish in the 'New World' (modern Mexico). Hawkins and his cousin, Sir Francis Drake, began a personal war against Spanish shipping, choosing to focus their energies on Spanish ships transporting gold and other treasures from the Americas.

⁸⁷ For example, the Spanish government complained that Hawkins's trade with their colonies in the West Indies constituted smuggling.

⁸⁸ Note that in April 1587 Sir Francis Drake destroyed a portion of Phillip II's fleet in the harbour of Cadiz. The 37-ship loss certainly caused a delay in Phillip II's plans; however, it was not the loss of these ships that drove his quest. The death of Mary Queen of Scots meant that her claim to the English throne passed to Phillip II. Phillip was determined to invade England to reinstate a Catholic on the throne.

⁸⁹ (16 December 1587) *CSPI, 1586-1588*, 447.

potential imminent invasion of 400 ships that would likely use Waterford's harbour as a launch board.⁹⁰ In July of the following year, the fleet was ready to sail.

The Spanish Armada was comprised of 130 ships carrying 18,000 sailors and 8,000 soldiers, all under the command of Medina Sidonia. After a disastrous journey on the part of the Armada to Calais, the remainder of the ship sailed around Scotland and the west of Ireland.⁹¹ Here the fleet was met with terrible storms that wrecked the ships, much of which washed aground. Whereas the Spanish lost 53 ships, the English had lost none; England and Ireland saw the end of Spain's first attempted invasion. Despite the Armada's failure, the war between England and Spain waged on and, in 1589, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norreys were sent to Northern Spain to torch the Spanish Atlantic Navy that was being fitted there. However, this expedition ended in failure. Peace would not come between Spain and England until 8 August 1604.⁹² Elizabeth I was often forced to turn her attention to Spain and lands beyond her realm, but she kept an ever watchful eye on Ireland. The final years of the sixteenth century marked a turning point in the imposition of English domination over Ireland. Ultimately, the English would find this task more costly in terms of finance and man power than their experience with the Spanish Armada.

⁹⁰ See the Petition of Maurice Followe to the Privy Council, 1587. See also Lord Deputy Fitzwillams to the Privy Council (24 August 1588). Ibid., 488-9, 546-7.

⁹¹ The armada was first to stop at Calais to collect a Spanish army waiting there. It would then continue on to England to commence invasion. The English were prepared with a fleet at Plymouth where the English vessels harassed the Spanish ships; however, the English were unable at this time to cause any serious damage to the armada. It was not until the flotilla reached the harbour at Calais and was delayed that the English would find an opening to cause serious damage to the vessels. As the armada lay in the harbour, the English loaded ships with pitch and gunpowder that would ensure the ship would stay on fire once lit. They then steered these 'fire ships' towards the Spanish. The armada, in order to avoid the 'fire ships', broke formation and, once scattered, the English were able to attack, afflicting considerable damage. Two further armadas were sent out from Spain, yet neither ever achieved their objective on account of adverse weather. James Coggeshall, *The Fireship and its Role in the Royal Navy* (Texas: Texas A&M University, 1997).

⁹² The end of the war was brought about by the signing of the Treaty of London. The Treaty was negotiated between representatives of Phillip II's son, Phillip III, the new king of Spain, and James I, who had succeeded Elizabeth I on her death. England and Spain agreed to a cessation of military interventions in the Netherlands by the English, and Ireland by the Spanish. In addition, England agreed at this time to end its high seas privateering. Frances G. Davenport, ed., *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648* (New Jersey: The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd., 2004), 246-57.

The pinnacle of the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland was reached when English authorities encroached on Ulster. Hugh O'Neill of Ulster was the most influential Gaelic lord on the island. O'Neill had initially submitted to English rule, taking the title Earl of Tyrone. He fought alongside the English forces in 1580 against Gerald Fitzgerald during the Second Desmond Rebellion. In 1595, Hugh's cousin Turlough, who had been acting as chieftain for the O'Neills, came to a compromise with Hugh and abdicated from his position. With Turlough's abdication, Hugh O'Neill set aside his English title and was inaugurated as Chieftain of the O'Neill clan. O'Neill started to campaign against England.⁹³ The fighting was mainly concentrated in Ulster and, until 1598, it was interrupted by frequent truces. The conflict became part of the larger Nine Year Wars between England and Spain which had been raging from 1585. O'Neill elicited the aid of a minority of lords throughout Ireland, but his greatest support against England came from Spain.

In a papal bull *Ilius* issued in 1555, Pope Paul IV had conferred the title of 'King of Ireland' to the Spanish King Philip II upon his marriage to Mary I.⁹⁴ The Spanish King took advantage of the Ulster rebellion and attempted to send armadas to support it in 1596 and 1597. Both armadas ended in disaster with the first destroyed in a storm off the coast of northern Spain and the second obstructed by adverse weather conditions off the English coast. The repeated failures of his fleets would haunt Phillip until his death in 1598.

His successor Phillip III continued to defy England and sent another armada with an invasion force to aid the uprising in Ireland. The 3000 Spanish soldiers sent by Phillip were forced to surrender and return home after a cold winter siege at the Battle of Kinsale. Unfortunately for Spain and for O'Neill, the force that came was too small in scale and

⁹³ Hugh O'Neill, 'War Aims', *CSPI, 1599-1600*, 279-81.

⁹⁴ *The Papal Bull of 1555 conferring the title of king of England on Phillip II of Spain in Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, Vol. 4. Part 1, 315 (1743; facsimile reprint 1965), accessed December 14, 2013, http://www.heraldica.org/topics/national/ireland_docs.htm#bull1555.

arrived too late. Sir Robert Cecil wrote of the event, 'I cannot dissemble how confident I am to beat these Spanish Dons as well as ever I did our Irish "Macks and Oes"' and to make a perfect conclusion of the war of Ireland'.⁹⁵

O'Neill's own army was defeated and he was forced to sign his surrender to Lord Mountjoy, 28 March 1603, unaware that Queen Elizabeth, the woman that embodied all he hated in aggressive English nationalism, had already died; 1603 brought about the end of the war. O'Neill and close to 90 of his supporters were neither killed nor exiled but were re-granted their titles and parts of their lands. However, unable or unwilling to live with the more restrictive conditions imposed by the English, many of these Irish lords left Ireland whereby the abandoned lands in Ulster reverted back to the crown.⁹⁶

As the plantation expanded to outlying districts, the English occupation of Ireland grew increasingly militaristic. There remained an environment of anti-Protestantism among the native populace as thousands of Protestants moved to places like Antrim and Ulster, ousting the original Irish residents. Eventually thousands of English, Scottish and Welsh settlers came to Ireland and the administration of justice they followed was enforced according to English common law and statutes of the Irish parliament. By the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, England acted as though it believed the only profitable gain to be had from its new acquisitions in Ireland was in the land which she yielded. However, the association of early seventeenth-century settlers in Munster with piracy suggests that the opportunity for wealth was not primarily from the land but rather from the sea with its ample opportunities to engage in international trade and in the

⁹⁵ David Beers Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), 138.

⁹⁶ This mass exodus of Irish lords which took place on 14 September 1607 was known as the 'Flight of the Earls'. Upon their departure, the crown confiscated their land holdings in Ulster and encouraged large numbers of English to settle there, resulting in the Plantation of Ulster. The earls left from the town of Rathmullan on Lough Swilly, among them were many Gaelic families from Ulster. Rathmullan, therefore, witnessed the end of the old Gaelic order. John McCavitt, *The Flight of the Earls, An Illustrated History* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2002).

smuggling of pirated goods.⁹⁷ This symbiotic relationship developed out of a lack of a strong central authority, continuous warfare and on-going political divisions that created a climate in which piracy could flourish during the sixteenth century in Ireland.

⁹⁷ See Appleby, 'A Profile of Sir William Hill.' See also Kelleher, 'Pirate Ports.'

Coastal Ports of Co. Cork

The majority of the cases addressed in this study highlight the significance of the southern ports of Ireland. In order to better understand the importance of these locations a brief history of the area is relevant. Piracy flourished along the south and southwest coast of Ireland, away from the political centre, Dublin. The cultural history and geography of the area provide possible answers as to why the ports of Co. Cork were so attractive to sea-roving rogues.

As can be seen from any map of Ireland, the jagged nature of the southern and southwest coastal areas provided the ideal terrain conducive to masking the activities of pirates. The southern margin of Ireland is comprised of an extensive rock dominated coastline. Co. Cork can be defined by its peninsulas which include the Mizen Head, Sheep's Head, the Beara Peninsula and Brow Head, Ireland's most southerly point. Many islands dot along Cork's coastline (see fig. 1.1). Carbery's Hundred Isles comprise the island around Roaringwater Bay and Long Island Bay. Pirates exploited these areas in preference to larger harbours where ships sailing under royal decree made port. The importance of Co. Cork's coastline to piracy, therefore, should be considered in light of its geo-political landscape where topography aided in illegal smuggling activities to meet black market demands.



Figure 1.1. *Provincia Momonia the Province of Movnster*. 1646.

1049B11_053 (Copper-plate, Map), Atlas Van der Hagen, Royal Library, the Haag.

In 1463, the English parliament granted a general allowance to Cork, Limerick, and Youghal to sell any and every kind of goods, apart from artillery, to the native Irish permitted the towns to buy from them; eliminating past limitations and allowing an open market between the two factions.⁹⁸ The statute stated,

Whereas the profit of every market, city and town in this land, depends principally on the resort of Irish people bringing their merchandise to the said cities and towns, and the inhabitants in the said cities and towns durst not buy and sell with the said Irish people, by reason of certain acts and statutes made against them in this land, which is

⁹⁸ A.F. O'Brien, 'Politics, Economy and Society: The Development of Cork and the Irish South-Coast Region c. 1170- c. 1583,' in *Cork: History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*, ed. Patrick O'Flanagan and Cornelius Buttmer (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1993), 134.

a very great injury to the said inhabitants in the said cities and towns, especially to those who adjoin the marches. Whereupon... [it] is ordained...that the inhabitants in the cities of Cork and limerick, ...Youghal, may lawfully buy and sell all manner of merchandise from and to the Irishmen, without any hurt or hindrance...⁹⁹

Parliamentary licences of this nature were common by the end of the fifteenth century. Trade between the native Irish and the city of Cork was essential for economic growth of the merchants representing the Old English within its walls. It was also important to some native Irish to enjoy the benefits of English law usually by way of grants.¹⁰⁰ This statute indicates that by the later fifteenth century commercial relations between the inhabitants of Cork and the native Irish had become officially entwined as well as complex.¹⁰¹

International trade was important to the port cities. Cork, Youghal and Kinsale were allowed to retain for their own usage the customs revenues accrued within their ports by royal writ. The increase in international trade during the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth centuries added considerably to municipal wealth. This increase is evident by the expansion of Irish imports at this time.¹⁰² Cork was further granted relief from the obligation to pay its fee farm. Cork's growth at this time was reliant on both political and economic factors. The salient features of this growth were the evolution of its borough status, financial and other concessions made to it by the crown, and the increase of its overseas trade in the later Middle Ages.

Since the fourteenth century, the earldoms of Ormond and Desmond arrogated political authority to themselves in Munster. The contentions of each to establish their own

⁹⁹ Ibid., 134.

¹⁰⁰ A. F. O'Brien, 'Medieval Youghal: The Development of an Irish Seaport Trading Town, c. 12 to c. 1500', *Peritia* (1986), 366-7.

¹⁰¹ By this date some native Irish were living within the towns.

¹⁰² See chart 'Gross value of Bristol-Ireland trade' and 'Gross value of Irish imports' in Susan Flavin, 'Consumption and Material Culture in Sixteenth-Century Ireland' (PhD diss., University of Bristol, 2011), 23-26.

political ‘power houses’ had contributed to the growing disorder and instability that dominated local politics. The crown was dependent upon these two powers to direct its interest in the west of Ireland. Those who could govern were permitted to do so, so long as they did so in conjunction with the will of the crown. The Earldom of Desmond became the greater power in Munster, resulting in serious implications for the port towns.

According to A. F. O’Brien, ‘Waterford was dominated by the earls of Ormond whose earldom and power, certainly by the late fifteenth century was able to provide security and stability for the town. Dungarvan, Youghal, Cork and Kinsale were likewise dominated by the earls of Desmond who played a similar role in their affairs’.¹⁰³ Royal authority significantly weakened in these areas and the void was filled by the feudal earldoms. The lords, in their pursuits of self-interest, permitted the towns a measure of autonomy, similar to that which the crown had yielded to them.

Gaelic Lordship also flourished in the southwest of Ireland including that of Barry Óg of Rincorran (See fig 1.2). The Barry Óg territory originally extended to the two cantreds of Keneleth (Kinelea) and Kenelbek in Co. Cork.¹⁰⁴ The lordship suffered erosion at the hands of the MacCarthy Reaghs and the lords of Muskerry during the fifteenth century. Having lost the western part of Innishannon to the MacCarthy Reaghs, the Barry Óg lordship suffered further as the earls of Desmond acquired extensive lands in Kinelea, overshadowing the Barry Ógs authority in that area.¹⁰⁵ However, the lordship may have continued to prosper.

¹⁰³ A.F. O’Brien, ‘The royal boroughs, the seaport towns and royal revenue in medieval Ireland’, *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 118 (1988), 24.

¹⁰⁴ A cantred is a historical subdivision of a county.

¹⁰⁵ Richard Caulfield, *The Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale* (Surrey: J. Billing & Sons, 1879), xiii.

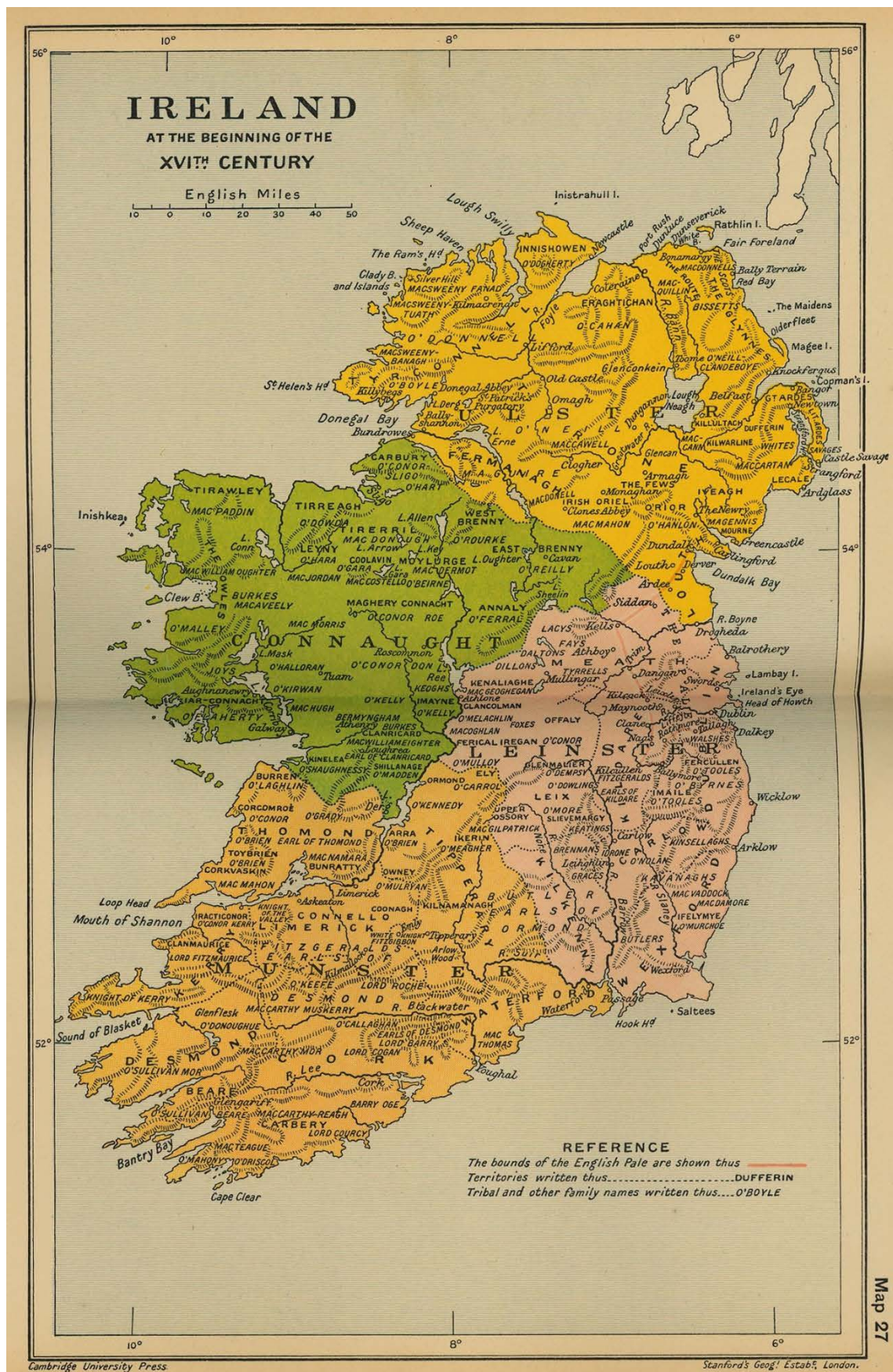


Figure 1.2. Historical Map of Ireland: Illustrating boundaries of the English Pale, tribal & others names.

Plate 27 from *The Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1912).

On 22 October 1553, Phillip Barry Óg, addressed as ‘captain of his nation and lord of Kinnalega’, obtained Letters Patent from Queen Mary I. These Letters confirmed his possession of all the lands that had belonged to his father William Lord Barry and all other predecessors.¹⁰⁶ The Letters, however, did not save the Lordship from ruin during the reign of Elizabeth, for by 1580 the Lordship was referred to as ‘a poor beggarly capten of a contrie called Kynaley, whose simplicity is such that he maketh of a proper soil of a cuntry nothing to be accounted on’.¹⁰⁷ A further inquisition declared that ‘Barry Oge is but chief of his nation, and is not lord of the country’.¹⁰⁸

The territory of the Desmonds began as a modest holding in Cork, consisting of the manor of Mallow, half a cantred in Corcaley (*Corca Laoighdhe*) in the far south-west and a minor holding in Duhallow.¹⁰⁹ The Desmond Lordship collected supporters, drawing clientele from many of Munster’s gentry, not only fellow Geraldine kinsmen but also the discontented. The eventual acquisition of Kerrycurrihy brought the Desmonds into close relations with the city of Cork.¹¹⁰ In 1548, shortly after the acquisition of Kerrycurrihy, the citizens declared that they always looked to Desmond for protection against the other local lords.¹¹¹

While the feudal lords provided support to the towns that fell under their control and provided a focus for political stability, this in turn promoted their economic status. However, this came at both a financial and political price for them. This is demonstrated by the Simnel

¹⁰⁶ (15 October 1541) ‘Quod ego Phillippus Barry, ocke. meæ nationis capitaneus, Dominus de Kinnalega...’ Caulfield, *Corporation of Kinsale*, 368; (22 October 1553) M.S. Giuseppi, ed., *Calendar of Patent Rolls Phillip and Mary, I, 1553-1554* (London: HMSO, 1937), 65.

¹⁰⁷ ‘State Paper Office: State Papers Ireland, Elizabeth I to George III. MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS AND PAPERS’. Sir Nicholas Malbie to Walsingham on his compounding with O’Connor Slygo. Dated at Dublin. ff. 14, 15. PRO, State Papers 63/71/8, Kew, London.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ K. W. Nicholls, ‘The Development of Lordship in County Cork, 1300-1600,’ in *Cork: History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*, ed. Patrick O’Flanagan and Cornelius Buttner (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1993), 187.

¹¹⁰ Brian Ó Cuív, ‘A Fragment of Irish Annals,’ *Celtica* 14 (1981), 99.

¹¹¹ Richard Caulfield, ed., *The Council Book of the Corporation of Cork from 1609 to 1643, and from 1690 to 1800* (Surrey: J. Billing & Sons, 1876), xiv-xv.

and Warbeck affairs. Both pretenders to the English throne received a measure of support in Ireland from both native Irish and landed old English. This support was especially prevalent in Munster, with exception of Waterford which was watched over by the earl of Ormond.

Simnel and Warbeck's cause was unsuccessful, and those that had associated with them suffered severe consequences. Desmond, Youghal town and most Old English magnates in Cos. Cork, Kerry and Waterford were pardoned in August 1496, but Lord Barry and John Water, mayor of Cork, were pointedly excluded from these pardons. Water was later arrested by Kildare and executed in London alongside Warbeck in 1499. Among the men pardoned for the Warbeck affair were Maurice earl of Desmond, Thomas, John, and Gerald of Desmond, John Fitz Gerald of Desmond and Gerald and Thomas Fitz Garret of Desmond. Also pardoned were the archbishop of Cashel and the bishops of Waterford and Lismore and Cork and Cloyne, as well as the bailiffs of Cork and Youghal.¹¹²

The backbone of this group was the earl of Desmond. The earl's political and territorial position influenced and determined the attitudes of other old English lords in the region, as well as the borough authorities in Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal. Whereas the earl of Ormond influenced Waterford, *urbs intacta*, who stood fast against all pretenders to the throne and against any which followed Desmond's Yorkist inclinations.¹¹³ A grant given in the aftermath of the Warbeck rebellion to Maurice earl of Desmond gave customs, cocket and prise wines in Kinsale, Youghal and Baltimore to hold at his pleasure. This was interpreted by later earls as a permanent measure and became a further cause of hostility with the earls of Ormond.¹¹⁴

¹¹² O'Brien, 'Politics, Economy and Society,' 132.

¹¹³ Further information regarding *urbs intacta* on page 61.

¹¹⁴ 'Cocket and prise wines' refer to a custom of hides and a cask out of every ship, respectively. The grant was given by Henry VII. See Edmund Curtis, ed., *Calendar of Ormond Deeds vol. 3 1413-1509* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1935), 254-5.

This factionalism between the two great earldoms remained a long-standing conflict and serves to showcase the influence and strength of the earls over their territories in Munster. The Desmonds' influence and power continued to spread in the sixteenth century. K. W. Nicholls argues that 'it is hard not to believe that the union of the two sides of Cork harbour under the direct control of the great ruling family of Munster [Desmond], once it had been firmly consolidated, did not dramatically improve the security situation for shipping coming up to Cork itself and so lead to a revival of its trade at the expense of Kinsale.'¹¹⁵ Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, and Dungarvan were either part of the Desmonds's lands or at least greatly overshadowed by them.

After the collapse of the Desmond rebellion in 1583 it was discovered that while the Earl may not have actually possessed much land within Cork, 'certain rents and services swelled the total value of his estate to over £1,500' and much of the land he did possess was strategically situated, providing him control over much of the south coast of Ireland and dominance over a cluster of vital port towns.¹¹⁶ The defeat of the earl and the suppression of his rebellion against the crown in 1583 removed an essential figure of the political system in Munster which had its roots in the early fourteenth century. With Desmond displaced, Ireland was left open to full English conquest.

While sea ports were moderately prosperous due to their positions as trading centres they were still buttressed by the political protection and financial support provided to them by the earls of Desmond and the financial concessions granted to them from the English throne. With Desmond's defeat and the re-imposition of English rule the prospects of stability and commercial prosperity again flourished. In the course of the plantation, the merchant classes of Youghal and Kinsale were augmented by new English settlers. Although Cork appears to

¹¹⁵ O'Brien, 'Politics, Economy and Society,' 139.

¹¹⁶ Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland, 1583* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 14.

have initially resisted this development, by 1652 the native inhabitants of Cork had been expelled from the city by the newcomers.¹¹⁷

The new merchant class of the west port cities and towns contributed significantly to the process of colonization and exploitation of resources from the surrounding areas. By the early seventeenth century, Irish commercial interests had been made subservient to the interests of the developing English mercantilist state.¹¹⁸ Up until this moment, however, the local lords conducted themselves as independent sovereigns, enforcing their will and interests as law upon those under them.

The political climate of the late sixteenth century inadvertently promoted the bold lawlessness displayed by pirates and port officials. In addition, piracy within the context of peace with Spain under James must be considered. With the expansion of global trade and the richly-laden ships sailing the waters of the Atlantic, the decrease of an active naval force during times of peace could not but make piracy even more attractive.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ O'Brien, 'Politics, Economy and Society,' 142.

¹¹⁸ Karl S. Bottigheimer, 'Kingdom and colony: Ireland in the westward enterprise, 1536-1660,' in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480-1650*, ed. K.R. Andrews et al. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), 45-64.

¹¹⁹ Clive Senior, 'An Investigation of the Activities and Importance of English Pirates 1603-40' (PhD diss., University of Bristol, 1972), 155.

Waterford

Like Cork, Waterford is often mentioned in case studies of piracy. Events in sixteenth-century Waterford followed on the coattails of the late fifteenth-century plot to claim Lambert Simnel as rightful heir to the English throne. The citizens of Waterford played a ‘distinguished part’ by remaining firm and loyal to the English King and standing in opposition to the Earl of Kildare. In return for the loyalty shown by the mayor and people of Waterford, the King of England granted Waterford a new charter stating,

for the good obeyance and loving disposition that ye, to our singular comfort and pleasure, have borne always towards us....by these our letters give unto you and every of you full authority and power, to arrest, seize and take all such and as many of our said rebels, as ye shall now attain unto, by sea or land with all manner of their ships, goods and merchandizes, as ye shall find to be carried or conveyed from any other place to our said city of Dublin....¹²⁰

The city of Waterford maintained a unique position for much of its history, balancing a fine line between maintaining its ‘Englishness’ while distancing itself from the administrative structures of the English lordship of Ireland centred in Dublin.¹²¹ Waterford’s trading links with England continued to be important throughout the sixteenth century.

¹²⁰ This letter was dated 20 October 1488. R.H. Ryland, Rev., *The History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford; with an Account of the Present State of the Peasantry of that Part of the South of Ireland* (London: John Murray, 1824), 26-7.

¹²¹ For example, in 1367, as a result of an attack on the city, the mayor, several officials and thirty-six citizens lost their lives. Alongside the loss of the Waterford natives were eighty English; citizens of Coventry, Dartmouth, Bristol and other parts of England had indiscriminately been murdered. This petition from Waterford likely included this information not only to list the dead but to remind its audience that the fortunes, or misfortune in this case, of the town were intertwined with that of the towns in England with which it traded. Niall J. Byrne, ed., *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford: Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2007), 17-19.

In 1351, the mayor and citizens of the city successfully petitioned the crown to allow Waterford the right to collect ‘Keelage’¹²² from all ships and boats approaching the port town, just as the ‘burgesses of Bristol’ were able to.¹²³ Waterford lay at the mouth of a river system that provided access to Bristol and its markets to traders from towns near and far. Waterford appears to have retained much of its cultural bonds with south-west England and, indeed, much of its ‘Englishness’ in the later Middle Ages. Despite the fact that Waterford’s mayor was not required to take his oath of office at the Dublin exchequer, and despite the fact that the town was allowed to appoint its own escheator¹²⁴ (as well as the point that over half of Waterford’s annual fee due to the crown was diverted from the exchequer to local use and the city rarely hosted sessions of the Irish parliament), Waterford remained loyal to England. Language such as that found in a petition by the city to the crown which read, ‘If all your land of Ireland were gained by your enemies, which God forbid, it might be regained more lightly and more easily by your said city’, stressed Waterford’s ties to and reliance on English authority.¹²⁵

The city’s participation in the English monarchy’s enterprises would often prove costly for Waterford. For instance, the Hundred Years’ War turned the Irish Sea into an oceanic battleground; as Brendan Smith points out, ‘Waterford was in the vanguard of this conflict’.¹²⁶ Waterford would bear consequences of England’s wars time and again; for example, her quay was damaged by Spanish ships in 1377 and in 1442. Waterford complained of lost cargo worth 4,000 marks to Breton pirates.¹²⁷ Waterford also endured intermittent raids stemming from the early fourteenth century onward. These attacks were

¹²² Keelage refers to a toll payable by all sailing vessels entering into the city harbour.

¹²³ Brendan Smith, ‘Late Medieval Ireland and the English Connection: Waterford and Bristol, ca. 1360-1460,’ *Journal of British Studies*, 50 (July 2011), 549.

¹²⁴ An Escheator was a royal officer responsible for taking escheats from deceased. Escheats referring to the return of property of a deceased person to the state where there are no legal heirs or claimants.

¹²⁵ Byrne, ‘The Great Parchment,’ 17.

¹²⁶ Smith, ‘Late Medieval Ireland,’ 554.

¹²⁷ O’Brien, ‘The Royal Boroughs,’ 14-15.

carried out by neighbouring Old English lineage. Waterford was targeted by seaborne depredation, specifically by the Irish family Ó hEidirsceóil, who were based at Baltimore situated on the west Cork coast.¹²⁸ Waterford inhabitants retaliated in a Christmas Day raid in 1413 by capturing the Ó hEidirsceóil chief. Waterford's ability to offer resistance to her enemies and to survive and at times thrive in such a hostile environment was aided by the English monarchy's willingness to extend its constitutional powers and command local magnates to offer Waterford full military support.

By the middle of the fifteenth century, Kinsale, Cork, Youghal and Dungarvan fell under the influence of the earl of Desmond, while Waterford fell within the sphere of the earl of Ormond. In 1497, Waterford again proved its loyalty to the English throne by standing against Perkin Warbeck and Maurice, the Earl of Desmond.¹²⁹ The siege as described by Ryland brought about the savage side of the citizens of Waterford. Victory led to the citizens beheading their foes and mounting them on pikes and their cannon 'beat in the side of one of the ships' killing an entire crew.¹³⁰ The canon mounted in front of Reginald's Tower helped to save the city and gave Waterford the distinction of being the first 'Irish city' to use artillery in its defence.

Waterford had shown great tenacity on behalf of the English crown in the face of Old English lords and false kings at the end of the fifteenth century. In recognition of Waterford's unyielding loyalty, the Crown gave the city the motto: 'Urbs Intacta Manet *Waterfordia*' - 'Waterford, the Loyal City'.¹³¹ In the early sixteenth century, Waterford was still held in great esteem by Henry VIII who conferred a gift to the city of a gilt sword and cap of liberty

¹²⁸ Smith, 'Late Medieval Ireland,' 558.

¹²⁹ (26 July 1497) Ryland, 'The History, Topography,' 32.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 30-2.

¹³¹ Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *The Book of Public Arms: A Complete Encyclopaedia of All Royal, Territorial, Municipal, Corporate, Official, and Impersonal Arms* (London: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1915), 834.

as badges of loyalty.¹³² For over a century, Waterford maintained a balancing act between religious treason and ‘political’ loyalty. During the sixteenth century, the city’s ties to Rome remained strong. A fair number of scholars of international repute were born in the city and Waterford was known as ‘Parva Roma’, Little Rome.¹³³

Ryland claimed that that the inhabitants of Waterford ‘differed in nothing from the English, from whom many...were descended’.¹³⁴ Because Waterford’s citizens were never ‘cordially united’ with the native Irish they were compelled to confine themselves within the fortifications and walls of Waterford for self-defence.¹³⁵ Despite this perspective of ‘self-confinement’, Waterford was port of trade which benefited from a well ordered government.

According to Ryland, the first ‘disaffection’ of Waterford was in the city’s refusal to aid the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sidney, in 1573, who in expectation of attack by insurrectionary forces, tried to raise forces to defend the social order in Ireland.¹³⁶ However, Waterford throughout the rebellious period remained (in appearance) loyal to the crown. Sir William Drury, succeeding Sir Henry Sidney in the government of Munster, spent time in Waterford for health reasons and while there he conferred the honour of knighthood on Patrick Walsh, the mayor of Waterford, and several other principal officers of the garrison.¹³⁷

The town again suffered during the Elizabethan wars. The citizens ‘spared by the sword’ were left to the misery of famine. The subsequent depopulation of Munster consequently contributed to the discontent and disaffection of the area towards James I who assumed the throne on Elizabeth’s death. Under these conditions Deputy Lord Mountjoy led a

¹³² Ryland, ‘The History, Topography,’ 39.

¹³³ P. Canon Power, ‘The Jesuits in Waterford’, *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 36, no. 143 (September 1947), 271.

¹³⁴ Ryland, ‘The History, Topography,’ 47.

¹³⁵ Ryland suggests that these confined conditions accounted for the long settlement patterns and ‘peculiar customs’ of Waterford citizens which set them apart from the rest of the surrounding area. *Ibid.*, 46-8.

¹³⁶ Though Ryland does not provide an exact date for this event, based on the content of his argument it is reasonable to assume the event took place around 1575. *Ibid.*, 51-3.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 55.

large army into Munster in 5 May 1603, arriving at Waterford's gates and demanding entry for his army into the city. Waterford, as loyal as the city proclaimed to be, refused Mountjoy and proclaimed that by the charter of King John the city was exempt from quartering soldiers.¹³⁸

Along with these privileges Waterford's citizens claimed the right to give their children in marriage to foreign merchants without the need of permission from their local lords. In regards to trade, foreign merchants were to purchase only from citizens within the city of Waterford and 'as encouragement to trade, the citizens had permission to grant 'safe conducts' to all rebels and felons who came there for that purpose. Justices were expressly commanded not to harass the citizens'.¹³⁹ Though this might suggest that Waterford was tolerant of felons, the charter given to the city by Henry VI provided for the mayor and his council to assemble an armed force and march against rebels, malefactors and plunderers at such times as they might think proper.

In this manner the citizens of Waterford maintained a distinctive pro-English attitude by adopting what they found useful and providing service and obedience where necessary, while at the same time adapting to the harsh environment of the Irish frontier. With the freedoms of John's charter, which Waterford staunchly clung to, the city could choose to promote piracy under the pretence of needing trade to support the city and her citizens. Yet it could just as easily use the same rights to stand up, fight and defend her ports from pirates when the city found them to be disruptive or violent.

¹³⁸ The Charter of John included 'fixing' the borders of the city of Waterford as well as dictating that a court was to be held twice a week within the city. *Ibid.*, 212-215.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 215. The charters and documents written prior to 1680 were destroyed by fire. According to Ryland no steps have been taken to replace them.

Chapter 1

‘Political’ Piracy

The Anglo-Spanish war stretched from 1585 to 1604 and brought new opportunities for mariners. In addition to merchant voyages, exploration, fishing and piracy, privateering provided increasing employment throughout the late Elizabethan period. An innovation was that many sailing ventures combined merchant trade with privateering. These new opportunities also gained attention from landmen lured by patriotism, plunder or simply by employment in an era of steady inflation and population growth.¹⁴⁰ Undeniably, after 1585, the ‘sweet trade of privateering’ attracted thousands of Europeans, including the English and Irish to the sea.¹⁴¹ Even the Queen’s policy towards her navy was to employ previously tried methods and take them to a new level. By enforcing ‘fish days’¹⁴² she hoped to train and employ ‘sea worthy’ men; when offering bounties for shipbuilding she encouraged private employers to construct large vessels, which ideally could be ‘hired’ by the Crown during a crisis without the cost of upkeep and maintenance. Finally, impressment served to furnish marines for her navy as well as encouraging able seamen to consider privateering.

Privateering was an old practice employed by English monarchs from as early as the thirteenth century. By issuing letters of marque, Elizabeth hoped to wage war against Spain and turn a profit at the same time. Elizabeth’s support of privateer attacks on Spanish shipping in the Americas provided mariners with a taste for freebooting ‘so that when the war

¹⁴⁰ Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering During the Spanish War 1585-1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 40.

¹⁴¹ Christopher Lloyd, *The British Seaman 1200-1860* (London: Collins, 1968), 36-8.

¹⁴² During the reign of Elizabeth I, the Catholic tradition of eating fish on a Friday was extended so that fish was also consumed on Wednesdays and Saturdays. This for two reasons, the first was to support the fishing trade, and the second was to enable Elizabeth I to collect a large navy out of the mariners that were constantly training at sea. The idea of fish days seems to have originated from William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley. The term ‘Cecil’s fast’ is described as ‘A dinner of fish. W. Cecil introduced a Bill to enjoin the eating of fish on certain days in order to restore the fish trade.’ Ebenezer C. Cobham, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Co., 1898), accessed February 2, 2014, <http://www.Bartleby.com/81/>.

at sea ended in the later 1590s [...] many former privateers switched to piracy'.¹⁴³ Many of the cases that are examined in this chapter fall into this category and, therefore, have been collected under the label 'Political'. As seen from the High Court of Admiralty depositions much of this activity was carried out in and around Ireland; highlighting the importance of the island's contribution to early 'political' piracy.

Merchants often mixed business with 'patriotism' and would, as mentioned before, combine a trade venture with a privateering one. When preparing for one of these ventures owners and merchants usually hired the master of the ship, if he was not already a shareholder in the vessel. Merchants frequently sent factors to represent their interests on important voyages. However, shipmasters normally held the responsibility of representing the interests of the owners. Since both maritime and commercial interests were at stake, owners were careful to select a man who was trustworthy and proved himself able in both areas.¹⁴⁴ It is not surprising that the shipmasters hired for such voyages were often a relative of the owners and merchants.¹⁴⁵

Darwinist tendencies prevailed heavily in the maritime community and sailors naturally sought out the most advantageous positions. They could therefore be quite mercenary in the pursuit of wages and shares. One mariner boasted, 'that if the Great Turk would give a penny a day more, he would serve him'.¹⁴⁶ This statement presumably was intended to possess a shock value. However, it retains a sliver of truth. Some mariners who were unsatisfied with conditions at home, opted for service on foreign ships.¹⁴⁷ There was no shortage of willing men for lucrative pursuits whereby privateering and seaborne depredation

¹⁴³ Joel H. Baer, *British Piracy in the Golden Age* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007), xi.

¹⁴⁴ Ralph Davies, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: David and Charles, 1972), 127.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 128.

¹⁴⁶ G.V. Scammell, 'Manning the English Merchant Service in the Sixteenth Century,' *Mariner's Mirror* 56 (1970), 136.

¹⁴⁷ G.V. Scammell, 'The Sinews of War: Manning and Provisioning English Fighting Ships c1550-1650,' *Mariner's Mirror* 83 (1987), 353.

flourished.¹⁴⁸ Privateers are found serving under commissions of foreign princes such as the king of Navarre, the Prince of Orange and Don Antonio of Portugal, although in some instances these were merely flags of convenience.¹⁴⁹ Foreign employment could also include labouring for national enemies.¹⁵⁰

Captain Nathaniel Boteler wrote in his dialogues of contemporary mariners ‘As for the business of pillage, there is nothing that more bewitcheth them, nor anything wherein they promise themselves so loudly, nor delight in more mainly’.¹⁵¹ Sir Richard Hawkins asserted that seamen’s ‘minds are all set on spoyle’.¹⁵² Service on a privateering venture held the greatest hope of reward, at least in the minds of seamen. When trading voyages and privateering were combined, the employment opportunity proved compelling because it offered both the guaranteed wages of merchant voyages and a share of prizes which the privateers offered. Spoiling under the guise of a political cause allowed piracy to flourish and receive silent support from officials, merchants and buyers. The shores of Ireland offer many examples of this style of piracy.

The following nine cases will be considered to highlight the political nature of piracy. As the cases progress the political involvement or support becomes more transparent. Beginning with cases of piracy carried out under the guise of nationalism in times of war to cases explicitly involving Letters of Marque and Reprisal, the political atmosphere of the sixteenth century created a breeding ground for seaborne lawlessness. These include the

¹⁴⁸ G.V. Scammell, ‘The English in the Atlantic Islands c. 1450-1650,’ *Mariner’s Mirror* 77 (1986), 308.

¹⁴⁹ PRO, the High Court of Admiralty Manuscripts, MS, 1/44/ 67v. In some cases, serving foreign princes was a way to avoid English restrictions. Hereafter PRO H.C.A. MS.

¹⁵⁰ Scammell, ‘Sinews of War,’ 353; Pauline Croft, ‘English Mariners Trading to Spain and Portugal, 1558-1625,’ *Mariners Mirror* 69, no. 3 (1983), 264.

¹⁵¹ Nathaniel Boteler, *Boteler’s Dialogues*, ed. W.G. Perrin (London: Navy Record Society, 1929), 37.

¹⁵² Sir Richard Hawkins, *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins*, ed. James A. Williamson (London: The Argonaut Press, 1933), 112.

actions of a French Man-of-war and English ship in a case brought before the High Court of Admiralty of the pillage of the vessel, *Mary Bonaventure*.

The Deposition of Patrick Landy and the *Mary Bonaventure*

The *Mary Bonaventure* was first commandeered by an ‘enemy’ vessel and then retaken by a vessel of the home country at which point its cargo was pilfered. In December of 1591, the *Mary Bonaventure* of Drogheda set sail for La Rochelle in western France with a full cargo intended for trade. A comprehensive list of the *Mary Bonaventure*’s cargo is found in a deposition given by Patrick Landy, a merchant of Drogheda, dated 27 June 1591. As Landy lists, the following goods were laden aboard the *Mary Bonaventure* of Drogheda:

8 dickers of hides, 4 tuns of beef, and 1 tun of tallow for George Peppard of Drogheda, merchant; 10 dickers of hides, 2 tuns of beef, and 1 tun of tallow for Patrick Cheven (or Chivell) of Drogheda; 9 dickers and 3 hides for Walter Fyan; 27 dickers of raw hides and adicker of tanned hides for Patrick Nugent; 40 dickers of hides for Richard Brady; 42 dickers of hides for this examinee; 14 dickers and 16 dozen goat skins for Robert Bath; 30 dickers of hides, 8 tuns of beef, 8 tuns of tallow, and 200 yards of linen cloth for John Dowdall.¹⁵³

The names connected to each item in Landy’s deposition provide a reminder to the humanity behind the situations so far removed by time and immortalised on the page. For many of the men there is no further information to confirm their existence apart from being added in a list of goods to be traded. However, for some there are minor glimpses of the person behind the name. For instance, there were ‘8 dickers of hides, 4 tuns of beef, and 1 tun of tallow for George Peppard of Drogheda’. While there is little information regarding George Peppard,

¹⁵³ Deposition of Patrick Landy, PRO H.C.A MS 13/29/ f 135.

his surname was a prominent name in Drogheda in the Middle Ages. There are several George Peppards listed as Mayors of the town.¹⁵⁴ The items of sale represent the livelihoods of a generation and the hopes and aspirations of the invested traders from Drogheda.

The export of goods from Drogheda on the *Mary Bonaventure* proved to be a disastrous investment.¹⁵⁵ The *Mary Bonaventure* never reached its destination as it was taken by a man of war of La Rochelle; a ship from the very port in which it had planned to trade. This was not the end of the *Mary Bonaventure*'s journey, however, and she was re-taken by a Captain Sidenham, who, upon achieving possession of the Irish ship, brought her into Padstow and Helford, where he proceeded to sell the *Mary Bonaventure*'s goods.¹⁵⁶

Patrick Landy's deposition provides a short account of the events surrounding the loss of the *Mary Bonaventure*. A second deposition, given on 6 February 1594 by Richard Brady, provides a more detailed summary of the first and second capture of the ship and of the roles of the men aboard the *Mary Bonaventure*. Brady explains that he was appointed master's mate aboard the ship 'and Alexander Burte, Patrick Chivell and Patrick White were sent as factors for the said merchants.'¹⁵⁷ Brady continued to explain that upon the death of William Munshall, who was master of the ship, he was appointed master in Munshall's place. New responsibilities would come with this promotion, as the master is in charge of the safe and

¹⁵⁴ 'Council Book of the Corporation of Drogheda', 1649-1734. 'Peppard, George Mr., 30 1653; Peppard, George, Maj., 9, 1659', accessed August 5, 2013, <http://www.jbhall.freesevers.com/1649-1734nicholastopole.htm>.

¹⁵⁵ Though this venture proved disastrous, there was nothing to warrant overt caution for the merchants. Drogheda had a long history of piratical interaction as illustrated in a letter dated 7 June 1514 from John Kite, Archbishop of Armagh, to Thomas Wolsey, the Bishop of Lincoln. In the letter there is a short description of Kite's recent crossing in a bark 'of Chester' during which they had 'a sore fight with two "Bryttanes" men-of-war both, and pirates.' He describes how the 'town of Drogheda manned two ships and went to assist against the pirates' to his joy,' one of the pirates, and a merchantman laden with salt [were] taken.' 7 June 1514, *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. 1509-1573*, ed. Hans Claude Hamilton (Longman: Green, Longman & Roberts, 1860), 1. Hereafter *CSPI 1509-1573*.

¹⁵⁶ PRO H.C.A MS 13/29/ f 135.

¹⁵⁷ Deposition of Richard Brady, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/30/ ff278-8.

efficient operation of the vessel, including cargo operations, navigation and crew management.¹⁵⁸

Brady related a harrowing tale of the *Mary Bonaventure* with specifics on the fight, her capture and the bitterness of defeat, and the wrongs dealt against *Mary Bonaventure's* crew by those who could have been their saviour. Having left Drogheda in December 1591, the *Mary Bonaventure* sailed full of the cargo as described in Landy's deposition. Half way through her journey the vessel was forcibly taken by a French ship of war. Despite the crew's efforts to maintain control of the *Mary Bonaventure* and in an attempt to protect their investment, the crew of the French ship prevailed and placed Brady and ten of his fellow crewmates into a boat and set the men adrift, 'committed to the wild sea'.¹⁵⁹

The crew remaining aboard the *Mary Bonaventure* continued to resist their captors until they 'overmastered the Frenchmen aboard her'. The opportune moment arose when the 'French ship of war was chasing another vessel' and, though determined to retain their recent capture, the French crew failed. In the midst of the excitement from a new chase and the attempted escape of the *Mary Bonaventure* by her crew, George Sidenham sailed onto the scene and seized the *Mary Bonaventure* and 'carried them to England' where he 'disposed of the cargo at his pleasure'.¹⁶⁰

Brady's account also informed the court of the monetary loss to the Irish merchants by detailing how much of the cargo was sold by Sidenham and comparing the price received, particularly for the hides, in comparison with what they would have sold elsewhere on the market. The 'hides laden aboard the ship were worth 6s. a piece when they were taken, and would have been sold for more if they had come to their appointed port. Also the beef was

¹⁵⁸ James R. Aragon and Tuuli Anna Messer, *Master's Handbook on Ship's Business* (Cambridge, MD: Cornell Maritime Press, 2001), 3-11.

¹⁵⁹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/30/ ff 278-8v.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

worth £12 per tun, the tallow £24 the tun, and the butter £3 per barrel.’¹⁶¹ The value of commodities varied with each port, dependent on supply and demand; yet the price at which Sidenham sold much of the *Mary Bonaventure*’s cargo correlates almost perfectly with the pre-sale valuation of the goods as listed in a deposition of Alexander Burte. In the statement dated 6 February 1594, Burte, who was a merchant of Drogheda and a factor for George Peppard, valued ‘the goods vizt. Tallow £26 per tun, beef £9 per tun, butter £3 per barrel’.¹⁶² It would not have been difficult for the crew to sell the stolen cargos quickly as many buyers were eager to escape port taxes and make a fine profit by selling the goods on to others.

It is unlikely that Brady was lying or even exaggerating with regard to the value of the cargo carried by the *Mary Bonaventure*. It should be noted, however, that his interests were not entirely objective. Brady had a share in part of the cargo as well as being the brother-in-law of Landy, as revealed in a separate deposition dated 6 February 1594.¹⁶³ Other witnesses to the taking of the *Mary Bonaventure* provide alternative accounts for consideration. One example is the account provided by Robert White of Drogheda, who described himself as ‘worth little, being a mariner that lives by his labour’.¹⁶⁴ Robert White had served as boatswain’s mate aboard the *Mary Bonaventure*. White narrates a similar situation to Brady’s, however he does not emphasise the loss of cargo to the same extent. This may be due to the fact that White had less invested in the *Mary Bonaventure* and, thus, less to lose.¹⁶⁵ White’s account provides further information and insight into Sidenham’s behaviour.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Deposition of Alexander Burte, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/30/ f 279v.

¹⁶³ ‘That he is worth £40 all his debts paid. And he came to speak at the request of Nicholas Wise, procurator of Patrick Landy and partners. And he was Landy’s servant for the said voyage, and the same Landy has married his sister.’ 6 February 1594, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/30 278v.

¹⁶⁴ 17 February 1594, Deposition of Robert White, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/30/ ff 248-8v.

¹⁶⁵ White’s final deposition provided in June of 1595 does list price values for some of the cargo of the *Mary Bonaventure*, ‘That the hides laden aboard the *Mary Bonaventure* of Drogheda cost £3 a dicker in Ireland, for this examine had 3 dickers aboard the ship which cost £9. And the tallow coast between 55s. and £3 per barrel. And he knows that the butter was then worth 7 nobles or 4 marks the barrel, and the wax cost £5 per hundred.’ However, White does not stress the importance of the difference in sale price, instead here merely states facts as he knew them to be true. PRO H.C.A. MS 13/31/ f 248.

According to White, the *Mary Bonaventure* was to go to Spain after unloading her cargo, to collect wine for sale upon return. Around 20 January 1591, the vessel was assaulted by the French ship of war and shortly thereafter retaken by Captain Sidenham ‘in the Black Boat of Sir John Arundell.’ Upon being brought to England the cargo was sold in Padstow, Helford and eventually Falmouth. In a later statement dated 2 June 1595 White claimed that two men, John and Richard Prideaux, who bought some of the goods in Cornwall, tried to get him ‘pressed for the sea so he could not return to Ireland’.¹⁶⁶

White’s additions to the *Mary Bonaventure* adventure not only help to identify a date for the capture of the vessel but also associate Sidenham with a very specific English name, that of Sir John Arundell. The sentence found in White’s deposition - ‘retaken by Captain George Sidenham in the Black Boat of Sir John Arundell’ - raises questions: Why mention Sir John Arundell or specifically the ‘Black Boat’? What importance, if any, does this signify?

It is unlikely that the reference was meant to be taken literally and that Captain Sidenham was sailing a black coloured ship belonging to or funded by Sir John Arundell. It was not unusual for a ship to have its hull painted with black pitch so that this detail could easily have been omitted from White’s testimony.¹⁶⁷ Of the various Arundells of Cornwall who can be identified in the sixteenth century, only one Arundell could fit the individual named. The unfortunate lack of documentation between Captain Sidenham and the Sir John Arundell of the same time period, however, means that this particular theory cannot be verified through direct documentation.

¹⁶⁶ ‘And that John Prideaux (who dwells at Padstow) and Richard Prideaux came aboard and bought 6 lasts of hides at 3s. 4d. per hide, as well as 6 or 8 tuns of tallow.’ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ During the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese first started visiting Japan their ships were identified by the Japanese as ‘kuroi fune’ (黒い船) or ‘Black Ships’ due to this hull painting process. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History* (Hoboken NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 138.

Sir John Arundell, born in 1495 and died in 1561, held many titles; not only was he a Knight, but Arundell twice held the position of sheriff of Cornwall and eventually was the vice-admiral of the west under the Kingship of Henry VII and Henry VIII. More relevant to the case is Arundell's past success in 1523 when, after a long sea battle, he captured the notorious Scottish Pirate, Duncan Campbell.¹⁶⁸ Perhaps White initially related Captain Sidenham to Sir Arundell as a figure who worked for the Crown by fighting against and capturing pirates. White may have mentioned Sidenham's recapture of the *Mary Bonaventure* in that context. Sidenham may have been the saviour looked for in a desperate situation but his subsequent actions proved less noble. White may have reflected on this when referring to the 'black boat', black often being associated with darkness and evil.

An alternative hypothesis is that White made a mistake in his use of 'Sir' and was making a reference to John FitzAlan, 1st Baron Arundel. In 1379, Baron Arundel commanded a naval expedition to aid the Duke of Brittany and defeated the French fleet off the coast of Cornwall. The Baron was looked poorly upon because he allowed his men to ransack an unidentified nunnery, where his men 'took no notice of the sanctity... and violently assaulted and raped' those they found inside.¹⁶⁹ The wayward crew later went to sea and were caught in a storm. Although the Baron's ship safely arrived on an island off the Irish coast, the Baron and his boat captain were swept back into the sea and drowned shortly after.¹⁷⁰

Captain Sidenham defeated a French ship of war and brought the captured *Mary Bonaventure* to Cornwall. However, he was not a saviour to the crew of the vessel and, indeed, proved to be as much of a scourge as the Baron Arundel was to the occupants of the

¹⁶⁸ Notably, Sir John Arundell had two children with his wife. His son, Roger, married a Dinham and his daughter, Katherine, married a Prideaux. John Burke and John Bernard Burke, *Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerages of England, Ireland, and Scotland*, 3rd ed. (London: Henry Colburn Publisher, 1897), 198-200.

¹⁶⁹ John Chynoweth, 'The Gentry of Tudor Cornwall,' (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 1994), 66-7.

¹⁷⁰ Thomas Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham, 1376-1422*, trans. David Preest (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2005), 246-8.

nunnery where he was supposed to be providing aid. While this correlation may seem far-fetched to provide meaning for White's reference, the story of the Baron was recounted not only by Thomas Walsingham but also by Jean Froissart, the French Chronicler, making it a well-known contemporary 'tale' passed down through time. It is likely that such a tale could have been spread as a cautionary tale of 'crime and divine punishment'.¹⁷¹ White described himself not worth much and a man of his trade. It is therefore more likely that he would know and reference a tale related to his trade rather than a low profile contemporary noble man.

The significance behind White's words remain a mystery and perhaps there is no significance to them whatsoever; however, why then say them under oath in a High Court of law? White surely was mentioning something that his contemporaries could identify and relate with. Does his rendition of the capture of the *Mary Bonaventure* stand as more objective than that of Landy's or Brady's? Being unable to pin-point the exact source of the reference there can be no answer to these questions.

What is clear from the depositions, however, is that the *Mary Bonaventure* was taken violently at sea by a French ship of war despite a truce between France and England in mutual disdain of Spain. While Sidenham's nationality is not readily identified in any of the depositions it can be surmised that he was an English supporter. Sidenham or Sydenham is an English locational surname originating from the town of Sydenham in Kent. This suggests that not only was the French ship of war acting in a piratical fashion, but that Sidenham also acted in an illegal manner with the sale of the cargo from the *Mary Bonaventure*. Sidenham would have been aware that the ship belonged to Irish merchants, even though Brady had already been discharged from the *Mary Bonaventure*. At the time Sidenham recaptured her, White was still aboard and would likely have mentioned her misadventures.

¹⁷¹ John Froissart, *Chronicles*, trans. Geoffrey Brereton (London: Penguin Classics, 1978), 195-7.

The selling of the Irish merchant's cargo from the captured *Mary Bonaventure* suggests one of three things. The first is that Captain George Sidenham was an outright pirate. Sidenham was acting against any ship, friend or foe. Ireland was clearly claimed by the crown at the time of the *Mary Bonaventure*'s sailing. All Englishmen would know this as there had been mass calls for men seeking fortune to move to Ireland in a great plantation effort on behalf of the Queen.¹⁷² The second possible conclusion that can be reached from Sidenham's actions is that Sidenham was not a pirate *per se* and that he didn't pirate indiscriminately. Sidenham may have been an anti-Anglo-Irish Englishman. The Irish coming into England in the mid sixteenth century were often impoverished and were 'perceived as a problem'; some had their expenses paid by the government to ship them back to Ireland. This general perception of the Irish being problematic and completely separate from the English as well as general anti-Irish sentiments could have fuelled Sidenham's actions.¹⁷³ The final conclusion is that Sidenham may just have been an opportunist taking advantage of the discord of war on the seas and the upheaval of Anglo-Irish relations to make a quick profit. The case of the *Mary Bonaventure* remains a clear case of piracy under the guise of a political conflict, no matter if the motive was personal.

Deposition of William Lincoll and the *Mary*

The *Mary* of Waterford, Ireland, had the same misfortune as the case of the *Mary Bonadventure*, in that she crossed sails with a French ship of war during the course of her merchant ventures. The deposition of William Lincoll, a merchant of Waterford, described

¹⁷² Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 165-6.

¹⁷³ Roy Foster, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 106-108; Sean Duffy, ed., *Atlas of Irish History*, (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd., 1997) 54; Madge Dresser and Peter Fleming, *Bristol: Ethnic Minorities and the City 1000-2001* (Chichester: Phillimore & Company Ltd., 2007) 37.

himself as merchant of the 34 ton *Mary*.¹⁷⁴ Lincoll was one of two men that had invested cargo aboard the *Mary* in Lisbon with the intention of returning to Waterford and selling the cargo to local merchants around the Irish seaports.¹⁷⁵ The second gentleman involved with the invested goods held within the *Mary* was a man by the name of Peter Dobbyn. The *Mary* had been filled at Lisbon with a wide array of commodities including,

25 tuns of salt; 1200lb. of gross pepper; 1400lb. of suckets and marmalade; 120 pieces of ‘Casses & Canekyns’; 15 pieces of Calicut¹⁷⁶; 300 lb. of loaf sugar; 128 lb. of cloves; 2 silver cups, double dilt; 4 lb. of Spanish silk; 160 lb. of green ginger; and rose flowers, conserved; certain gold wire, silk lace and gold jewels; cinnamon, nutmeg and ginger; 60 yards of Spanish taffeta.¹⁷⁷

Much of the cargo would sell for a handsome price in Ireland and Britain as spices remained highly sought after commodities, even into the late sixteenth century. The cargo that Lincoll and Dobbyn had enlisted the *Mary* to carry could be labelled nothing less than luxury items.

On 5 July 1591, the *Mary* ‘whereof William Poore was master’ departed from Lisbon. The ship was hijacked about ‘sixty leagues’ from Cape Finisterre, on the west coast of Galicia, Spain, by a French ship of war called the *Salamander* of Dieppe, France.¹⁷⁸ The *Salamander* was captained by Thomas Govante, who proceeded to examine the cargo of the *Mary* and interrogate her crew, questioning under what authority the *Mary* had to trade with Spain. After the interrogation, men from the *Salamander* boarded the commandeered vessel and ‘heaved’ half of the salt the *Mary* was transporting into the sea.

¹⁷⁴ Deposition of William Lincoll, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/30/ f 31.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Calicut most likely refers to the textile calico. Calico is a plain-woven textile derived from unbleached, and not fully processed, cotton. Due to its unfinished appearance calico is usually an inexpensive commodity. Calico derives its name from the city Kozhikode, also known as Calicut, in the south of India on the Malabar Coast. Notably, during the Middle Ages, Calicut was dubbed the ‘City of Spices’ for its role as the major trading centre of eastern spices. ‘Calico’, Encyclopædia Britannica, accessed November 23, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/topic/calico-textile>.

¹⁷⁷ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/30/ f 31.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

It is likely, after realizing that running from the enemy was going to be unsuccessful and that boarding was imminent, the crew of the *Mary* tried, unsuccessfully, to conceal anything of a valuable nature. Upon forcefully removing the salt from the hold, the men of the *Salamander* uncovered the other treasures of the *Mary* which had been stowed underneath. They carried off all the ‘goods in the schedule annexed to the allegation, together with all their [the crew of the *Mary*] victuals and apparel.’ Lincoll valued this loss at £800 which he added to the value of £200, ‘by occasion of the loss of profit which would have been made if the goods had come to their port of discharge.’¹⁷⁹

Lincoll and the company of the *Mary*, ‘being 16 persons, whereof eight were passengers’, were detained for two days and two nights before the *Salamander* departed, leaving the company of the *Mary* a small basket of broken bread and a small cask of cider mixed with water.¹⁸⁰ This would prove not enough to see the whole of the company of the *Mary* to safe harbour. After the departure of the *Salamander*, the *Mary* traversed the seas for twenty-five days due to contrary winds before finally reaching Bayonne in Galicia, the north-west part of Spain. By the time the ship sailed into port, two of the company had died of famine.¹⁸¹ Such callous behaviour was not unusual on the high seas. Another instance was recorded regarding a Waterford ship, the *Sunday*, commandeered by Spanish ships who ‘spoiled, rifled, and stript [sic] them [the crew] of their clothes with such inhumanity and cruelty as they could not be used more miserably among Turks, or the most barbarous nation in the world.’¹⁸²

Due to the severe conditions the company of the *Mary* were subjected to, they were forced to sell the ship in Bayonne for a marginal sum of £30 in order to survive. This was an

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² 23 January 1593. *CSPI, 1592-1507*, 73.

extreme loss for the ship's owners as the *Mary* was valued at a worth of at least £100, had they been able to bring her home. By the estimation of the merchants, the spoil of all the goods aboard the *Mary* was worth £500. This estimate did not include the cost of damages 'that arose by the overthrow of the voyage, by which they were forced to lade salt from Ireland for lack of money, whereas they had determined to lade wines.'¹⁸³

Lincoll ends his deposition with a comparison of his plight with a similar incident that happened months after his own capture to a different ship of Waterford called the *Peter*. According to Lincoll, the *Peter* departed Waterford 'laden with frieze, hides, linen cloth, leather, mantles, blankets and other goods' belonging, again, to Peter Dobbyn, as well as one Paul Strange, Alexander Buver and a few other investment merchants. Bound for Lisbon, the *Peter* was taken by a French ship said to be set out by Monsieur de Ravile of Cherbourg in north-western France.

It is likely Lincoll made mention of this particular incident because there was a name that was readily associated with the orders of the offending ship. Whereas the only name Lincoll had to follow with his own experience was that of the *Salamander's* captain, a much more fluid position than that of a commander. As well as pinning a name to a pirate, Lincoll was probably dependent upon a deposition that followed his in the case of the *Mary* to help him win recompense. The incident of Lincoll's loss is further documented in a correspondence from John Leonard, Mayor of Waterford, to Lord Burghley. Leonard writes, 'A bark of Waterford, whereof the bearer, William Lincoll, was one of the merchants spoiled at sea by Thomas Govante, captain of a ship of Dieppe, in Normanday [sic].'¹⁸⁴

Lincoll, however, was to find no restitution in his pursuit of the wrongs against the *Mary* and despite reliance on the deposition of fellow Waterford merchant Peter Tremblere,

¹⁸³ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/30/ f 31.

¹⁸⁴ 18 May 1592, *CSPI*, 1509-1573, 488.

Lincoln would find no comfort in his recitation. Tremblere had just come from Dieppe where he had stayed around the 7 October 1591. At that time, while staying in the house of a Nicholas Adams, two mariners had called by enquiring ‘for men of Waterford’.¹⁸⁵ Tremblere’s mates from Limerick met with the enquiring mariners and Tremblere soon followed after. Upon meeting with the mariners himself it was revealed that the men had been out at sea in the *Salamander* and had been dropped off in Dieppe. According to Tremblere, the men said they ‘wished that the owners had knowledge thereof, whereby they might procure restitution.’¹⁸⁶

Tremblere, upon hearing this information, immediately travelled with a fellow merchant, Richard White of Limerick, to the quay at Dieppe. When the men had located Captain Govante, they challenged him by claiming that the ‘goods taken were not good prize’ to which Govante replied, ‘si me bon a prendre, il a bon a rendre’ which translates to ‘it’s better to take something to which you feel you have a right to than leave it’.¹⁸⁷ Having taken his leave of Govante, Tremblere later heard that goods were worth £600.

In relation to the case of the *Mary* of Waterford, Tremblere had no more information to add. However, that was not the end of his deposition. Tremblere continued to discuss the *Peter* after having shared his knowledge regarding the incidents surrounding the *Mary*’s cargo. Tremblere recalled that near Candlemas, on 2 February 1592, he was at Caen in Normandy, in north-western France, ‘making sale of frieze, rugs and other Irish goods of his own’. Unfortunately, the sales were not proceeding well. ‘As he offered his goods for sale to a merchant there, the merchant said that he could buy the like commodities much cheaper in

¹⁸⁵ Deposition of Peter Tremblere, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/30/ ff 31-1v.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ While not a literal translation, this particular saying ‘si me bon a prendre, il a bon a rendre’ is a common phrase in French. Many thanks to Greame Edwards for his assistance with this translation.

that town.’¹⁸⁸ Tremblere, inquisitive of his rival, asked the merchant to bring him to the other seller, which he did.

The merchant who was selling similar wares showed Tremblere ‘6 white coverlets, a roll of grey frieze and 2 remnants of fine blue frieze which were Irish goods.’¹⁸⁹ Tremblere was informed that all the goods had been taken at sea in a Waterford ship by a captain le Fort of Caen, but the rest of the cargo had been confiscated at Cherbourg by the admiralty there. Not long after this event Tremblere discovered who the pilot of the French ship of war was, Isaias Mansier, and went to speak with him. Mansier confessed to Tremblere that he had been a part of the taking of the *Peter* and gave him a cross staff which he had out of the ship, ‘which he willed this examine [Tremblere] to bring to the master of the ship as a token from him.’¹⁹⁰ Tremblere also bought an astrolabe off Mansier which had also been taken out of the *Peter*.

The two depositions relating to the case of the *Mary* cover two different cases, two different ships and two different piracies. The individual case of the *Mary* may be considered as a cut and dry case of convenience piracy. The undisputable evidence of this is Govante’s simple reply of ‘si me bon a prendre, il a bon a rendre’¹⁹¹ Govante did not say that he had *the* right to take the *Mary*’s cargo but that he *felt* he had the right, nor did he in any way come across apologetic to Tremblere when discussing the stolen goods. Lincoll’s loss was his gain, the political relationship of Govante’s country with that of Lincoll’s was not important to him.

¹⁸⁸ PRO H.C.A MS 13/30/ ff 31-31v.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ A Cross staff is also known as a Ballastella or Jacob’s staff. When used in this context, a Cross staff is a simple device to measure angles, for instance the angle between the horizon and Polaris to determine a vessel’s latitude. W.F.J. Mözer Bruyns, *The Cross-Staff: History and Development of a Navigational Instrument* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1994). An Astrolabe was an inclinometer used to determine the latitude of a ship at sea by measuring the sun’s noon altitude. Lois Ann Swanick, *An Analyses of Navigational Instruments in the Age of Exploration: 15th Century to Mid-17th Century* (MA diss., Texas A&M University, 2005).

¹⁹¹ Deposition of Peter Tremblere, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/30/ ff 31-31v.

Lincoll described himself as a merchant to the High Court of Admiralty. Anything else to be known about William Lincoll has to be inferred from contemporary writings. According to his deposition, Lincoll was 32 years of age and, therefore, was born in 1560.¹⁹² Lincoll seems to have several connections with Peter Dobbyn apart from their shared investment in the hold of the *Mary*. In 1588, a bond by Katherine Casshyne to William Madan mentions both men in relation to a tenement in Carrick. It further addresses Peter Dobbyn as ‘Mayor of Waterford’.¹⁹³ Lincoll appears again in the *Calendar of the Cecil Papers* in relation to a batch of priestly letters to be sent to Spain that had gone astray.¹⁹⁴

The entry suggests that Lincoll was not just a merchant of Waterford but that he was also involved in the higher echelons of law and government. With phrases such as ‘I am so overborne by the ‘lawiersi’ of Waterford and their friends, having great means, riches and ability, that what they say is current’ as well as describing ‘William Lyncoll’ as ‘villainous’ suggests that Lincoll was fairly affluent and, in the opinion of some of his contemporaries, enjoyed undue advantages because of his network and alliances.¹⁹⁵ The evidence thus indicates that Lincoll was well situated financially and, as the letter that refers to the ‘villainous’ nature of Lincoll is dated 1599 - eight years after the taking of the *Mary*, it can be inferred that Lincoll was not completely ruined by the affair. He was lucky this was the case as many pirated merchants were left destitute.

In regards to the stolen goods of the *Peter*, there is unfortunately not enough information from the depositions to draw a clear conclusion of unmitigated piracy. The

¹⁹² PRO H.C.A. MS 13/30/ f31.

¹⁹³ Peter Dobbyn is again mentioned in conjunction with Waterford in the *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic* of Henry VIII as one of many listed as a juror for a presentment before the King’s commissioners in relation to Lady Katherine Butler. Henry VIII: October 1537, 11-15, *Letter and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 12 Part 2: June-December 1537* (1891), 309-324, accessed 27 January, 2012, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/>

¹⁹⁴ August 1599. R.A. Roberts, ed., *Calendar of Cecil Papers in Hatfield House* 9 [1599] (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1902).

¹⁹⁵ August 1599. Ibid.

deposition merely states that the *Peter* was taken by a French Ship of war. It is possible that the ship which captured the *Peter*, having been sent out by Monsieur de Ravile,¹⁹⁶ possessed Letters of Marque and was therefore sailing under the protective label of privateer. It remains likely, however, in light of the case of the *Mary* and Tremblere's account of his interaction with Isaias Mansier, that the *Peter* was taken unlawfully and her goods dispersed illegally.

This case highlights both economic and political aspects of piracy at a micro-level that offers insights into structures and motivations on a macro-level. At the start of the case we learn that the *Salamander* was captained by Thomas Govante, who proceeded to examine the cargo of the *Mary* and interrogated the crew, questioning what authority the *Mary* had to undertake trading voyages with Spain. In 1591, the relationship between England and Spain was still tense amidst Spanish and English Armada attempts and continued rumours of landing troops in Cork.¹⁹⁷ Ireland was under English authority, if not entirely in practice, it was on paper. Govante's interest in what authority the *Mary* had to trade with Spain portrays a political questioning of alliances as part of his possible motivation for capturing the *Mary*. It is possible Govante wished to use the answer he received as a viable excuse for his piratical actions.

Clearly, the captain of the *Mary* did not have a satisfactory answer as Govante's crew was ordered to dispose of half the salt from her cargo. The salt was not taken for its value or for use by the *Salamanders* crew, but 'wasted' having been heaved into the ocean. The disposal of the salt was probably a by-product of the search for valuable goods or it could have been used as a simple show of strength. Alternatively, and less likely, it may have been

¹⁹⁶ This name is not found in any English translated sources, at this time the identity of Monsieur de Ravile remains unclear.

¹⁹⁷ 23 December 1587. A letter from William Lyon, bishop of Cork, to Geoffrey Fenton and later forwarded to Lord Burghley discusses the Spanish arriving in ships along the western ports Kinsale, Cork, and Baltimore etc. *CSPI, 1586-1588*, 454; Again, on 29 January 1589, in a letter from the Lord Deputy Fytzwylliam to Walsyngham, he mentions Spanish letters and warns for Ireland not to let an invasion fall. *CSPI, 1588-1592*, 113.

used as a punishment for the crew of the *Mary*'s 'audacity' to hide her goods. This seems less likely due to the order in which the events are described by Lincol's deposition.

One other possible reason behind Govante's actions is found in a comparative study of American history. Govante's choice closely resembles another cargo theft that took place in an American harbour of Boston on 16 December 1773. American colonialists threw an East India Company ship's lading of tea into Boston harbour. The act was done to defy the Tea Act of 10 May 1773.¹⁹⁸ Arguably, the colonialist could have simply stolen the tea, but they chose instead to 'waste' it in protest. The *Salamander*'s actions could be interpreted in a similar vein. The tossing of the salt, therefore, could be considered as an act of protest. More precisely, it can be interpreted as a protest against the trade of Ireland, which ultimately fell under English jurisdiction, with Spain by a Frenchman.

The sale of the *Peter*'s cargo as described in Tremblere's deposition is a prime example of the impact of piracy on the economy of the sixteenth century. As the goods were illegal, it is plausible that they were sold in a private market in order to escape port taxes. The local buyers often turned a blind eye to the situation in exchange for a more competitive price. The merchant that Tremblere dealt with in Caen clearly stated 'that he could buy the like commodities much cheaper.'¹⁹⁹ This undoubtedly would cause some change in the price of goods being sold legally as they competed to sell their merchandise. It is impossible to ignore a drip in a pond when the ripples begin to spread, and this is exactly what was taking place in the sixteenth century. Pirates created the drops and the countries felt the rippling effects. The Irish economy certainly exemplified this. 'By rights the economy of the Munster coast should have been no more than an indolent agricultural and fishing community could

¹⁹⁸ Benjamin L. Carp, *Defiance of the Patriots: The Boston Tea Party and the Making of America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 7-24.

¹⁹⁹ PRO H.C.A MS 13/30/ ff 31-31v.

support.’²⁰⁰ However, by the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth centuries the Calendar of State Papers reported, ‘That which passeth here is rialls of eight, Barbary ducats, and dollars, and it is thought some treasure is buried on land by these pirates.’²⁰¹ It is clear that the wealth of a port was influenced by the presence of piracy, and not always adversely.²⁰²

The Deposition of George Woodlock and the *Flower*

Little is known of the merchant George Woodlock of Waterford. His name appears in the Bristol Port Book of 1594-1595.²⁰³ Ireland’s trade with Bristol in the sixteenth century was of great importance. The trade provided a market of fish, hides, timber and coarse cloth for Bristol and salt, metal and leather for Irish markets.²⁰⁴ Despite Bristol being a regular trading destination for ships and merchants out of Waterford, Woodlock’s name appears only once during the years surrounding the incident under investigation. The date noted, 15 October 1594, in the entry in the Bristol port book could suggest that Woodlock remained in the country and made the most of his time, having had to travel to England to give his statement to the High Court of Admiralty at the old Bailey. It is possible that after testifying Woodlock invested in a few ‘souvenirs’ for his journey back to Ireland. The Port Book details that Woodlock was to return to Waterford aboard the *Rose*, a 16 ton ship mastered by Thomas Davis, and that he was taking with him hops, soaps and vinegar to the estimated value of

²⁰⁰ Senior, *A Nation of Pirates*, 55.

²⁰¹ Roger Myddleton to Salisbury (23 August 1611), Charles Russel and John P. Prendergast, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, James I, 1611-1614* (London: Longman & Co., 1877), 99. Hereafter *CSPI*, 1611-1614.

²⁰² Clive Senior argues that not only did pirates encourage economy by providing goods, but that ‘pirates were certainly the best of customers, usually rich, often generous, and prepared to pay inflated prices for their supplies.’ Senior, *A Nation of Pirates*, 55.

²⁰³ The name George Woodlock appears under three entry positions numbered 853-855. University of Bristol. Bristol Port Book, Overseas, 1594/5, accessed November 23, 2014, <http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Ireland/datasets.htm>.

²⁰⁴ Jean Mary Vanes, *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Sixteenth Century* (PhD diss., University of London, Birkbeck College, 1975), 292; Duncan Taylor, ‘The Maritime Trade of the Smaller Bristol channel ports in the Sixteenth Century’ (PhD diss., University of Bristol, 2009), 54.

£2.08. This was a far smaller value than the cargo he had lost on the *Flower* which brought him to England in the first place.

The case of the *Flower* of Waterford begins in a similar way to any other merchant voyage. According to Woodlock's statement given 15 May 1594, the taking of the *Flower* of Waterford took place a 'year aforesaid'.²⁰⁵ In a following deposition, the event is described as taking place in June of 1593. During the summer, the *Flower*'s hold was filled with various 'friezes, mantles, hides and 150 single pistoletts of gold, to the value of £1000 and upwards to be transported to Nantes,' a city in western France located on the Loire River, for the account of Woodlock and 'others'.²⁰⁶

As the *Flower* and her company drew near to the fishing port of Le Conquêt, a commune in the Finistère area of Brittany in north-western France, she was violently attacked by no less than fourteen ships. With sheer numbers against the crew of the *Flower*, it was a short time before the attackers boarded her. Once aboard, the opposing crews 'plundered the cargo and bilged the ship in such sort that the master and company were forced to run her ashore to avoid perishing.'²⁰⁷ Left listing on the high seas, there was no other choice for the crew but to ground the *Flower* and to try and refit the ship to a state of repair that would see them safely back to Waterford. Woodlock's testimony states that this was done to the loss of '200 crowns and more'.²⁰⁸

The company of the *Flower* were left horrified and hopeless in the face of 14 ships against their one; however, Woodlock does not mention any deaths as a result of the depredation against them on the sea. The crews aboard the 14 ships undoubtedly were rough

²⁰⁵ Deposition of George Woodlock, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/31/ ff 20-20v.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ 'Bilge' refers to the area on the outer surface of a ship's hull where the bottom curves to meet the vertical sides, or the bottom inside of a ship where dirty water collects. 'Bilged' as used in the deposition is an transitive verb, 'to become damaged in the bilge'.

²⁰⁸ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/31/ ff 20-20v.

in the handling of the company. Woodlock's testimony emphasised that the pirates took no care in handling the ship. If the assailing crew placed so little value on the *Flower*, which could have been sold or refitted, then it is even more unlikely that they held any value for the *Flower's* crew. When compared to the case of the *Mary* the company of the *Flower* was lucky to be left all alive. This may have been a decision the pirates may have later regretted.

Not long after being hijacked and assaulted at sea, Woodlock heard that the ships which had 'committed the spoil' against the *Flower* had made port in Sables d'Olonne, a seaside town in the west of France. Woodlock then travelled to Sables d'Olonne in hopes of finding justice. Upon reaching the town he 'saw sundry of the company of the ships that spoiled him.'²⁰⁹ Woodlock forced some of the mariners to be 'examined by notaries before the governor' where the men confessed to attacking the *Flower* and taking his goods. The men pleaded their innocence stating that they 'were sorry that it was their hap to meet with him and said the spoil was done without their consent.'²¹⁰

A 'remorseful' company of one of the ships went so far as to offer Woodlock compensation, 'with promise to bring the rest to the like.'²¹¹ Woodlock, finding the proceeding satisfactory, decided to settle with the mariners. However, this did not end successfully as his presence in the High Court of Admiralty attests. After reaching a settlement, Woodlock was soon warned that his life was in danger as several mariners were plotting against him. These were the same mariners that had offered Woodlock compensation.

Unable to proceed further against the treacherous mariners in the town of Sables d'Olonne and fearing for his life Woodlock fled. Still determined to have restitution for the

²⁰⁹ Ibid. (Woodlock)

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Composition defined as: A settlement by mutual consent, especially a legal agreement whereby the creditors agree to accept partial payment of a debt in full settlement.

stolen goods of the *Flower*, Woodlock ‘took a testimonial’ of the mariners’ deposition and travelled to La Rochelle, on the Bay of Biscay. Once in La Rochelle, Woodlock complained to the king of Navarre about the numerous wrongs he had endured.²¹² The king, Henry IV, offered Woodlock a ‘warrant to arrest the malefactors if he knew how to come by them.’²¹³ Woodlock found this alternative unacceptable and in his words ‘perceived no hope of redress’ by the course of action offered by Henry IV.²¹⁴

Woodlock returned to England and petitioned the Privy Council for ‘justice and redress.’ The Privy Council referred Woodcock to the ‘lord ambassador then resident in London’ and also wrote letters to ‘Sir Edward Stafford, Her Majesty’s ambassador in France.’²¹⁵ With letters in hand, Woodlock again travelled to France with determination for redress, yet he was again forced to leave for fear of his life. Unable to find restitution in this way he then contacted the High Court of Admiralty.

These were not the only measures taken by George Woodlock in his crusade for justice. According to the deposition of his son Thomas Woodlock, also a merchant of Waterford, George Woodlock sent Thomas to La Rochelle to further attempts of restitution. The deposition dated 20 December 1595 details that in June of 1594 Thomas was sent with ‘instructions to consult with one John Hughes, a merchant there, as to the best course for the

²¹² Woodlock states that ‘this examine travelled to La Rochelle and complained to the king of Navarre, now the French king, about the soil’. If Woodlock’s statement is accepted as being correct the king which he brought his complaints before would be King Henry IV. Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Sir Edward Stafford was an English Member of Parliament, courtier and diplomat to France under Queen Elizabeth I. He was knighted and appointed Ambassador to Paris in 1583. It is of importance to note that Stafford was recalled from Paris in 1590 and held no other major posts thereafter. This information is in direct discord with George Woodlock’s deposition which clearly states that Sir Edward Stafford was the Ambassador to France at the time the Privy Council was writing on his behalf. It is possible that Woodlock was mistaken in his information; however, if Stafford was no longer in France, the letters that he had taken with him would have been useless regardless had he been able to stay. Mitchell Leimon and Geoffrey Parker, ‘Treason and Plot in Elizabethan Diplomacy: The “fame of Sir Edward Stafford” Reconsidered,’ *The English Historical Review* 111, no. 444 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1134–58.

recovery' of the lost merchandise at Sables d'Olonne.²¹⁶ Hughes advised Thomas not to go to Sables d'Olonne in person, but to first send correspondence to some acquaintance there in order to gauge whether it was safe for him to go.

Thomas Woodlock then sought the advice of a 'doctor of the civil law' and proceeded to write several letters 'to Monsieur De la Comba declaring the cause of his coming.' The identity of the gentleman that Woodlock was endeavouring to correspond with is unknown.²¹⁷ However, it would take Thomas three separate letters to finally elicit a response from Monsieur De la Comba. The return correspondence informed Thomas that if 'he came on his own adventure he should find justice there,'²¹⁸ whereby Thomas proposed to travel from La Rochelle to Sables d'Olonne. Mr Hughes dissuaded Thomas from the course of action and within days of his original intention to travel, Thomas was assaulted by a mariner on the quay at La Rochelle; the mariner tried to shoulder Thomas over the side of the quay.

Thomas's deposition states that he avoided danger by seeking refuge in a local custom house and after 'making enquiries [he] found out that the mariner was from Sables d'Olonne.'²¹⁹ The mariner had also threatened to 'run Thomas through' if he crossed paths with him again. Unsurprisingly, Thomas declared that he dared not leave but kept to his house for eight days after the incident. During those eight days a ship master of Sables d'Olonne by the name of John de Patero paid a visit to him under the guise of friendship. De Patero asked of Thomas if he had come so far to 'prosecute his father's old suit' to which Thomas replied affirmatively, stating he had come over 'for the same purpose.'²²⁰

This was not the response de Patero had wanted to hear and he warned Thomas, 'I wish you for your father's sake to rest contented and not to come to Olona [sic], for if you do

²¹⁶ Deposition of Thomas Woodlock, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/32/ ff 24v-25.

²¹⁷ The surname De la Comba is Portuguese-Spanish in origin and translates to 'the rope'.

²¹⁸ H.C.A. MS 13/32/ ff 24v-25.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

you shall find nothing but delays and never escape with your life.’²²¹ Thomas didn’t remain at La Rochelle long after the visit and within three months ‘secretly came away for England’. Neither father nor son had succeeded at recovering the goods lost from the *Flower*. Woodlock had to accept that he would never see the cargo again.

On 13 November 1596, in a statement provided nearly 2 years after George Woodlock’s initial testimony, Grancis Tetee, a mariner of Poitou, refuted a question regarding the location of the sale of stolen goods of the *Flower*. Tetee denied that any ships or goods belonging to ‘any inhabitants of Sables d’Olonne’ had been in the rivers around or in the city of London.²²² He furthermore denied having ever heard that any ships or inhabitants of St Gilles²²³ were involved with taking goods from George Woodlock. Tetee’s deposition was accompanied by two other depositions by men from Saint-Gilles-Croix-de-Vie given on the same day. These testimonies were given by Joyseau Barteawe, a fellow mariner, and by Jacques Burnie, a merchant and ship owner. Both men’s depositions echoed Tetee’s denial.²²⁴

What is unknown is whether Tetee was responding to accusations of having bought or sold goods from the *Flower*’s, or accusations of simply having knowledge of the transactions. Another assumption is that the stolen goods must have made it to Britain. There would be no other reason for Tetee to deny their existence in England.

We might assume that Grancis Tetee had been aboard a trading vessel sailing from Saint-Gilles-Croix-de-Vie in southern France to London. Knowingly or unknowingly the ship was carrying some of the stolen cargo from the *Flower* which was then recognised and

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² 13 November 1596. Deposition of Grancis Tetee, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/32/ f 161v.

²²³ In this particular context, St. Gilles most likely refers to modern day Saint-Gilles-Croix-de-Vie, a commune in western France. This conclusion fits best to Tetee’s attributing ships to the location.

²²⁴ 13 November 1596. Deposition of Joyseau Barteawe, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/32/f161v; 13 November 1596. Deposition of Jacques Burnie, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/32/ f161v.

reported. Teteé was then called to account for the merchandise. Teteé's ship may have paid a fair price for the goods from another merchant. This seller may have been from Sables de'Olonne, though Teteé denies knowing of any merchants from there being in Saint-Gilles-Croix-de-Vie in his statement to the High Court. Regardless of whether Teteé was telling the truth or not, the point remains that goods from the *Flower* had been bought and sold along the coast of France before eventually being identified in England. In the meantime, the rightful owners were harassed repeatedly during their pursuit of restitution to the point that they had to flee France for fear of their lives.

Woodlock received no substantial aid from the King of Navarre against the fleet of pirates that had attacked him. If anything, Woodlock's deposition emphasises the indifference of Henry IV. Clearly, it was up to Woodlock to deal with the pirates on his own. This laissez faire attitude of monarchs towards pirates may reflect their recognition of the usefulness of these bandits to the crown, especially during the turbulent times of the late sixteenth century. How could a king be held responsible for the sea borne depredations carried out by wily mariners? This attitude is expressed by Henry IV in Woodlock's testimony of 1595. Armed only with a warrant of arrest, there was little that Woodlock could do on his own, especially as more than one ship was involved.

Pirate fleets (in this case involving fourteen ships), while not unheard of, were still fairly unusual at this stage. It was more characteristic of the 'Golden Age of Piracy' which followed. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, piracy tended to revolve around small-scale raids and opportunistic attacks. The case of the *Flower* indicates that by the late sixteenth century, piracy was becoming highly organised, not only in the coordination of fourteen ships, but also in the coordination of threats against the Woodcock family on land. Such organisation also required a degree of acceptance or collusion by communities and rulers operating outside of the immediate infraction.

The Deposition of Giles Popkins and the *Hope*

The case of the *Hope* is the first in this chapter that makes any explicit reference to Letters of Marque. The Letters of Marque was a licence from the government which authorised a privateer to attack and commandeer enemy vessels with the intent to bring them before higher authority for trial and sale. As well as Letters of Marque were Letters of Reprisal, which granted a privateer permission to cross international borders to punish an enemy sovereign state and claim restitution for any harm done by that state.²²⁵

The Letters of Marque involved in the case of the *Hope* demonstrate further the political dimension to piracy. The 120-ton *Hope* and her crew were from Emden, a seaport in Lower Saxony in the north-west of Germany. Although Emden would eventually become a very rich town due to the influx of Dutch migrants, at the time of the sailing of the *Hope* it was best known as the centre for the Protestant Reformation.²²⁶ Through the deposition of several of the mariners that served aboard her, the story of the *Hope* seems fairly straight forward.

According to a very succinct account provided by mariner Giles Popkins to the High Court of Admiralty on 11 February 1595, the *Hope*, upon which Popkins was serving, was ‘taken by three English ships of war and carried away to Ireland.’²²⁷ Popkins’ account is expanded in a second deposition provided weeks later, on 26 February 1595, recording the narrative of Garret Egberts. Egberts was master of the *Hope* when she sailed from Emden laden with a cargo of wheat and rye for sale in Genoa, Italy’s largest seaport on the Mediterranean Sea.

²²⁵ Hugo Grotius, *De Iure Praedae Commentarius (Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950).

²²⁶ For more information on Emden see Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

²²⁷ Deposition of Giles Popkins, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/31/ f 188v.

The *Hope* and her crew were attacked en-route and overtaken by the *Little Amity* of London. Upon capture, the besieged ship was carried into Kinsale. Egbert's statement does not include mention of any other ships apart from the *Little Amity*. If both Popkins' narrative and Egberts' deposition are correct then it is likely that the *Little Amity* was the flagship of a small fleet, in order to rectify the difference in the number of ships mentioned in each deposition. At the head of the flagship was her captain Robert Worshipp.²²⁸

Having brought the *Hope* into Kinsale, Worshipp and his crew sold nearly 40 tons of corn from the *Hope*'s cargo; they waited until nightfall to bring the goods ashore. Having completed these dubious sales, Worshipp contacted the judge of the admiralty in Cork. Together with an undisclosed number of men, he tried to persuade the judge into believing that the *Hope* and her cargo was a legitimate prize of war by alleging that Egberts was 'bound to Spain to sell his corn.'²²⁹ So determined was Worshipp to make a man of war out of the *Hope* that he had begun to invest in oxen to be used as provisions aboard the *Hope* upon leaving Ireland.

According to a deposition dated 15 March 1595 and given by Richard Harrison, a mariner who had sailed with Worshipp, the '[*Little*] *Amity* carried Letter of Reprisal against Spain.'²³⁰ Harrison's deposition is the only statement to provide this information. These Letters could be used to identify Worshipp and those that served under him as privateers. Undoubtedly, Worshipp was depending on the Letters to sway the judge into believing that he and his company were providing a national service and a lawful act. Worshipp, in all his planning, had overlooked a significant detail that would bring his best-laid plans to a halt.

²²⁸ Deposition of Garret Egberts, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/31/ ff 203v-4.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Deposition of Richard Harrison, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/31/ ff 208-8v.

During the siege of the *Hope* by the company of the *Little Amity*, Egbert as the master of the ship took decisive action and secured all documentation regarding the *Hope* and her course of trade before surrendering to Worshipp. This shrewd course of action allowed Egbert to later produce these documents before the judge at Cork to prove that he had been bound for Genoa. Egbert was able to procure a sentence for the restitution of the *Hope* as well as her cargo. Before Egbert was able to secure the ship, however, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, William Russell, had him arrested. He was ‘commanded not to depart without his licence’.²³¹ Egbert wasn’t the only one arrested, Worshipp was also held by order of Russell on charges of piracy.

Egbert’s narrative ends with a confession of having sold 20 barrels of wheat and 20 barrels of rye in Ireland. He also mentions borrowing £6 from the vice-admiral’s deputy which he repaid in corn.²³² Egbert recorded the price of ‘the rye at 4s. 6d. the barrel and the wheat at 8s. the barrel’.²³³ It is likely that he sold the cargo to be able to secure provisions for the stranded company of the *Hope* while legal processions took place. As master of the ship, it was Egbert’s responsibility to see that his crew was taken care of while they were stranded. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the confession of sale was a confession of necessity.

²³¹ In the case of the *Hope*, a date is never given for the events that unfolded either at sea or in Kinsale. A high percentage of cases are usually brought before the High Court of Admiralty a year after an incident has happened. This researcher has applied this methodology for the case of the *Hope* and has therefore identified William Russell as the Lord Deputy during the time that the *Hope* was pirated by Worshipp.

²³² Egbert’s deposition ends curiously with the statement, ‘The said Worshipp and this examine were at words in Ireland because he lent him £9 which was later denied by the former.’ This statement lends itself to confusion. By face value it would suggest that Egbert had lent £9 to Worshipp; however, this seems fairly improbable as Egbert seemed reliant on loans himself as mentioned with the exchange of corn to the vice-admiral’s deputy. Should this sentence then be understood as Worshipp having lent Egbert the £9? Again, this appears highly unlikely due to the overall situation. Worshipp had just pirated the *Hope* of her cargo for which Egbert was responsible. Additionally, Worshipp had tried to *falsely* accuse Egbert of trading with the enemy in order to take the *Hope* altogether. It is therefore unlikely that either should deal with the other in any form of financial matter. PRO H.C.A. MS 13/31/ ff 203v-4; PRO H.C.A. MS 13/31/ ff 208-8v.

²³³ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/31/ f 188v.

The deposition of Richard Harrison is the sole witness that the *Little Amity* was carrying letters of Reprisal. The letters mean that the *Little Amity* had been granted Royal authority to privateer against Spain in recompense for a previous loss. Unfortunately for the *Hope*, the crew of the *Little Amity* while sailing with political sanction seems to have been sailing with ‘blind’ ambition. While waving their pardon for any wrong doing against Spain, the *Little Amity* pirated the wrong ship. Had the *Hope*’s captain not had papers to prove his voyage was between Germany and Italy, he might have been unable to stand his ground against the crew of the *Little Amity*’s claims that they were trading with Spain. This case is a clear example of misuse and abuse of Royal Letters granted in the face of political disunity.

Letters of Reprisal according to a 1295 document ratified by Edward I, and upon which Letters were still being issued in the sixteenth century, were to meet a category of 10 provisions before the Reprisal would be considered legal.²³⁴ These requirements included:

1: A claim for a precise amount with proof of the circumstances giving rise to the claim. Proof was required which included details as to the time and place of the loss of goods, and a substantial statement of the values of the goods.

2: Proof that the claim had arisen because of unlawful acts of those against whom it was made. ‘In giving the reasons for granting to private persons the right to make reprisal, the ‘Letters of Reprisal’ always lay stress on the unlawfulness of the acts which gave rise to the claim’.

3: Failure to secure compensation or redress by diplomatic, juridical, or other similar means, after every practicable effort to use such means has been made. Reprisals were not to be thought of as an alternative to court suits. They were meant to be a measure of last resort.

²³⁴ Grover Clark, ‘The English Practice with Regard to Reprisals by Private Persons,’ *The American Journal of International Law* 27, no. 4 (October 1933), 695-9.

4: Definite and specific authorization from the appropriate state authority. During this period the monarch, the monarch's council, the chancellor, and the Lord High Admiral possessed the authority to sanction private reprisals.

5: Limitation of the seizures to the goods of the members of a specified group. Reprisals were not a *carte blanche* to act indiscriminately. They were to be used against members of a group which the claim was made against.

6: Limitation of the Seizures to amounts sufficient to satisfy the claim, plus reasonable costs. It is of importance to note that during the sixteenth century, 'the practice was to require that the person getting letters of reprisal furnish bonds guaranteeing that he would not make seizures in excess of the amount of his loss plus costs.

7: Cessation of seizures as soon as full compensation has been secured. In some cases the provision is included that the right to take reprisals was delayed for an amount of time, so that the parties against whom the reprisals were authorised might have time to make compensation in the interval.

8: Return of or payment for goods seized improperly or in excess of the amount of the claim. The sixteenth century saw a stress for goods seized to be brought into court for inventory and appraisal.

9: Submission of the goods seized to the appropriate English authorities.

10: Full accounting for the goods seized.²³⁵

Worshipp failed to carry out several of the requirements of the Letter of Reprisal he had in his possession. The most notable slight was requirements five and eight, targeting a legitimate body and returning the goods when the 'mistake' had been pointed out. His

²³⁵ Clark, 'The English Practice,' 695-9.

eagerness to sell the goods ‘at night’ in Ireland also highlights his neglect of recognising the last two requirements of a Reprisal. One could argue that this makes a case for a personal piracy and not a political piracy. However, underlying the actions authorised in the document ratified by Edward I are several assumptions, two of which are particularly important. The first assumption was that ‘the sovereign was under obligation to secure justice for his subjects’ and the second was that the king and his subjects were ‘responsible for the acts of their individual members’, which is why this case has been considered under the chapter ‘Political’.²³⁶

The Deposition of Edward Simond and the *Margaret*

The case of the *Margaret* of Millbrook demonstrates how men of high rank sought to take advantage of blurred distinctions between privateering and piracy in order to enrich themselves. In not only condoning behaviour of this sort, but resorting to it themselves piracy was allowed to flourish in Ireland. The outline of events is presented in three depositions. The youngest testifier, Edward Simond, was age 14 at the time of his deposition on 14 February 1595. Simond served aboard the *Margaret* on a trading voyage from Bordeaux to Lettermullan, Co. Galway, in December of 1594.²³⁷ In Lettermullan, the ship was laden with 110 chests of sugar, to be ‘delivered out of Captain Middleton’s prize’ and to be transported to London.²³⁸ A second testifier Richard Blake, also a sailor aboard the *Margaret*, corroborated young Simond’s story.²³⁹

A third deposition was given on the same date by John Evans of Millbrook, master of the *Margaret*. Evans explains that he had sailed from Bordeaux, with wines for trade in

²³⁶ Ibid., 698-700.

²³⁷ Deposition of Edward Simond, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/31/ ff 193-3v.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Deposition of Richard Blake, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/31/ ff 193v-4.

Galway. While in Galway he states that ‘one Edward Morris’ came as a representative of Captain Middleton to shore from Lettermullan.²⁴⁰ Morris met with the mayor of Galway, Rolande Skerrett, and ‘requested the mayor of Galway for his favour in furnishing cables and victuals to safeguard a prize that was brought into Lettermullan, 25 miles off.’²⁴¹

Skerrett answered negatively stating that he ‘could not serve his turn’, however the mayor referred Morris to John Evans who the mayor advised had ‘a bark... and was better able to help him.’²⁴² Evans sailed with Morris to meet with Middleton and agreed to transport the sugar to London. For this task Evans was to ‘have £50 for freight.’²⁴³ Before any of the plans could be finalised, Evan’s was approached by a captain Bingham who threatened to take the *Margaret* by force to be used as a ‘bark for her Majesty’s service’. According to Evans’ account, Bingham lost interest in commandeering the *Margaret* for the queen after he was given eleven chests of sugar from the bark.²⁴⁴

Bingham wasn’t the only one with an interest in the sugar that Middleton had brought. After Bingham left, Middleton and Evans were approached by another captain, called Malby, and four or five other Englishmen. Malby and the men claimed that ‘they had more command there than Bingham’ and so Middleton was forced to hand over 9 chests of sugar out of the prize to the men.²⁴⁵

The case of the Galway confiscations, as it will be called hence, is not straightforward. The depositions of the sailors from the *Margaret* are of indirect relevance because the case is not about the *Margaret* nor, for that matter, is it about Middleton’s ship, of

²⁴⁰ Deposition of John Evans, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/31/ ff 195-6.

²⁴¹ The mayor of Galway at the time of this incident was most likely Rolande Skerrett as he served in his position from 1594-95.

²⁴² PRO H.C.A. MS 13/31/ ff 195-6.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Another witness to the activity in Galway is recorded. The deposition given on 15 February 1595 is by that of John Simondes, a mariner of Millbrook. The information is the same except that Simondes labels himself as masters mate. Deposition of John Simondes, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/31/ff196-6v.

which we are not given a name. The case is concerned with the ship that Middleton took as a prize. A fact we learn in young Simond's testimony.

The testimonies do not tell us Middleton's prize was taken by means of using a Letter of Marque or Reprisal. Therefore, it remains unclear as to whether he was acting as a privateer or as a pirate. Regardless of the label which can be applied to Middleton, he was shipping goods that had been forcibly taken from another merchant. In the process of doing so, he was called upon by a number of gentlemen, all with a keen interest in his prize's cargo.

The interest in Middleton's cargo can be understood in light of its worth. Sugar today has a very different value to that of sugar in the sixteenth century. Until the discovery of the New World in the late fifteenth century, sugar remained a rare commodity; so much so that even Europe's early Renaissance courts regarded it as a sweet extravagance. Queen Elizabeth displayed her wealth by putting a sugar bowl on her table and by using sugar as an everyday commodity. Possessing sugar was one way to emulate the wealth and status of Her Majesty.²⁴⁶

Sugar's value came from its scarcity. Its cultivation depended upon a hot, humid climate above 80 degrees Fahrenheit, thus rendering Europe unsuitable to produce the crop. On top of the exacting climate was the huge quantity of wood needed to fuel the boiling vats needed to transform cane into sugar cones. The answer to the sugar problem came from Spanish exploitation of the Caribbean. Jamaica possessed the ideal conditions for growing sugar cane crops and by the early sixteenth century it developed as a sugar-growing colony

²⁴⁶ Sideney Wilfred Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: Place of Sugar in Modern History* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1986). See also Susan Marie Flavin, *Consumption and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Ireland: Saffron, Stockings and Silk* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2014).

for Spain.²⁴⁷ The Portuguese brought sugar to Brazil and by 1549 Santa Catarina Island had nearly 800 cane sugar mills.²⁴⁸

The transport of this precious cargo from the New World to Europe was treacherous, due to pirates and privateers. Middleton was probably ranked among the latter. Had Middleton pirated his prize without the authority of the Crown, or other high officials, it would be highly unlikely that he would want the fact brought up in the High Court of Admiralty. Therefore, this case is not about Middleton acting as a pirate. This case is about the two sentences at the end of Evan's testimony that mention the gentlemen who came away from their meetings with the captains a little richer with a 'sweet' gain. These gentlemen are the 'gentlemen of fortune' in the trial of the Galway confiscations.

The first name Evans mentioned in his account to the High Court is a 'captain Bingham'. While there were several Bingham's who were well known in Ireland at this time, the most likely candidate is Sir Henry Bingham, son of Sir George Bingham.²⁴⁹ He had served as captain in the Irish Army before becoming High Sheriff of County Galway in 1607.²⁵⁰ Bingham was well placed to threaten the confiscation of Evans' ship unless pacified with an appropriate incentive, in this case a large quantity of sugar. It was not unusual for ships to be enlisted for her Majesty's use especially in times of war. What is unusual is that a quantity of sugar sufficed in place of a ship. Bingham likely accepted this sugar for his own

²⁴⁷ It should be noted that while Jamaica was one of the first colonies for sugar planting, the colonists failed to create sufficiently large profits and many abandoned the site in 1534. Jamaica's sugar economy faltered until the British claimed the island in 1655 and created a full-scale plantation system relying on a large number of imported slaves rather than the local population in contrast to the Spanish. James Robertson, *Gone is the Ancient Glory: Spanish Town, Jamaica, 1534-2000* (Kingston: Ian Randall Publishers, 2005), Chapter 1.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

²⁴⁹ Sir Henry Bingham happens to be the nephew of the other Bingham in reference, Sir Richard Bingham. John Burke, *Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland*. Vol 4 (London: Henry Colburn Publisher, 1838), 351.

²⁵⁰ On 7 June 1632, Bingham was created a baronet in the County of Mayo by King Charles I of England. Egerton Brydges, *A Biographical Peerage of the Empire of Great Britain* (London: Bensley & Son, 1817), 151-2.

use as a bribe to dodge conscription. This is a clear example of the misuse of a governmental position, which condoned and perpetuated piratical behaviour.

As for Malby, we may be dealing with Henry, son of the notorious Sir Nicholas Malby who died in 1584.²⁵¹ Henry is referred to in domestic papers as Captain Henry Malby as follows '1599- Warrant to pay £200 to Captain Henry Malby for service and losses sustained in wars in Ireland.'²⁵² Further evidence that Captain Henry Malby is the Malby referenced in the deposition can be found in the correspondences of Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam. In a letter to Lord Burghley, advisor to the Queen, Fitzwilliam mentions that a group of Spaniards were taken by 'Malbie's ship'. In a further letter to the Queen, Fitzwilliam reiterated, 'Precautions most needful. Spanish ship captured by one of Captain Malbie's.'²⁵³ The Spaniards sent to England.' He enclosed with his letter 'Articles of interrogatory ministered to the Spaniards taken by Capt. Malbie's ship.'²⁵⁴

In conclusion, Captain Middleton lost a sizable portion of his prize to two aggressive infantry captains both with powerful lineage and governmental ties. If Middleton was carrying the signatures needed to prove that he had lawfully taken the ship which held the large cargo of sugar, then it would be safe to assert that Middleton was swayed by the pressure of these connections, and ultimately the case was brought to the High Court of Admiralty. The outcome of Middleton's pursuit of financial compensation is not disclosed. If Middleton

²⁵¹ Sir Nicholas Malby (1530-1584) was an English soldier active in Ireland. He was also Lord President of Connaught in his later years from 1579 to 1581. Sir Nicholas Malby is also noted in letters sent between him and Sir Francis Walsingham in relation to piracy: 'Three pirates, laden with spices, wines, and sugars, report James Fitzmaurice's preparation to the sea.' 31 May 1579. *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the Reign of Elizabeth. 1574-1585. Preserved in the Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, ed. Hans Claude Hamilton (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1867), 169. Hereafter *CSPI 1574-1585*. Also, he was again requesting a 'commission from Her Majesty to build two great boats at his own charges to serve on the Shannon' to patrol. 27 November 1579. *CSPI, 1509-1573*, 197.

²⁵² Mary Anne Everett Green, ed., *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1589-1601* (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1869), 219-24. Hereafter *CSP, 1589-1601*.

²⁵³ 26 and 27 February 1572. *CSPI, 1509-1573*, 465, 466.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

possessed Letters of Reprisal then he would have the option of taking another prize to make up the value of his initial loss, and this would be at his own expense.

The Deposition of John Ellyott and the *Fly*

The case of the *Fly* illustrates the difficulties in not only identifying acts of piracy but implicating those involved. It further illustrates the advantages taken during times of political upheaval. In August of 1551, John Ellyott, a merchant of Plymouth, approached the High Court of Admiralty with regards to a ship that he swore was no longer his because he had sold it.²⁵⁵ John Ellyot informed the High Court that he owned the *Fly* in 1548 and that he sold it on 6 April 1549 for 200 marks to Griffith Vaughan from south Wales.²⁵⁶ Vaughan or Vaughn was a fairly prominent name in Wales during the sixteenth century. For example, John Vaughan from Carmathenshire had been appointed to inspect Welsh monasteries in 1535 and 1536, and asked Cromwell to allow him to have some abbeys to farm.²⁵⁷ This farm land was eventually named 'Golden Grove' and the families of John Vaughan built their fortune from it. Included in the family was Walter Vaughan who died 1597, Henry Vaughan who also died around the same time, Sir John Vaughan, later the 1st Earl of Carberry, Sir William Vaughan of Trecoed, Walter Vaughan of Llanelly, Hugh Vaughan of LLether LLeesty, and Sir Henry Vaughan of Derwydd. Included within the Vaughan family of Trimsaran (Plas) was Griffith Vaughan, son of William Vaughan of Letheryclren. Griffith inherited an estate from his uncle in 1572 and was later appointed High Sheriff in 1587 after

²⁵⁵ John Ellyott seems to have been a gentlemen of some affluence as he is recorded in the Calendar of the Plymouth municipal records as having secured a bond for £10 to give to the Mayor and 'Commonality of Plymouth' to secure two new guns for the town. '...do make twoo sufficient new gounes for the towne of ij broken gounes' 1/360/2, 31 March 1542, Plymouth and West Devon Record Office. Richard Nicholls Worth. Calendar of the Plymouth municipal records.

²⁵⁶ Deposition of John Ellyott, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/7/ ff 389-9v.

²⁵⁷ B.H.J. Hughes, *Notes of the Vaughan Families of Wales* (1999), 18 -19, accessed November 13, 2013, <https://archive.org/details/VaughanFamilyOfWales>.

settling at Trimsaran. Griffith Vaughan died shortly after the appointment in July 1587.²⁵⁸ It is probable that this is the same Griffith Vaughan that Ellyot claims he sold his ship to. More important is the prominence of many with the Vaughan family name at this time.

Ellyot is meticulous in pointing out the date of which the sale of the *Fly* took place, ensuring that the Admiralty was well aware that he had nothing to do with the ship beyond that date. This step is taken because the ship he once owned was implicated in piracy. Ellyot was aware of the vessel's journey after leaving his care, stating that, '[he] has heard' a 'ship laden with wines at Bordeaux, belonging to John de Andraca of Olasencia, in Biscay, was spoiled upon the sea and brought into Ireland by one James Goughe and certain others in consort with him.'²⁵⁹

John Ellyott's deposition ends with a curious twist as he is once again in possession of the *Fly*. Having originally sold the ship in 1549, Ellyott regained ownership in February 1550 after not being paid for by Vaughan. The deposition states that 'this respondent...recovered possession of the ship after she was driven into Penzance in Cornwall.'²⁶⁰ Further details state

That the articulate ship was worth £100 or thereabouts. And a tun of Gascon wine was then worth £4 13s. 4d.; a tun of pitch was then worth 53s. 4d.; and that 500 chaffing dishes were then worth 50s. by this respondent's estimation.²⁶¹

The *Fly* is later mentioned again in the deposition of Dominic de Gryber, a mariner of Biscay and aged about 46. De Gryber confirmed Ellyott's story. According to De Gryber, he had

²⁵⁸ Ibid..

²⁵⁹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/7/ ff 389-9v.

²⁶⁰ Penzance was frequently raided by Corsairs throughout medieval times and suffered from Spanish ships during the sixteenth century. Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall and An Epistle concerning the Excellencies of the English Tongue* (London: B. Law, 1769), 22 and 177-82. Penzance's connection with pirates would eventually be immortalized when Gilbert and Sullivan penned *Pirates of Penzance*.

²⁶¹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/7/ ff 389-9v.

been in Youghal on his ship of Peter de la Rynes carrying Bordeaux wine and Spanish iron around the 30-31st December 1550. De Gryber recalled that on 8 January 1551 two ‘ships of war came into Youghal haven,’ one of which was a ‘ship of Waterford’ and the other was a ‘ship of Plymouth.’²⁶² One of the two 35-tun ships was reported at that time to be owned by ‘one Mr. Ellyott’.²⁶³ The other ship belonged to the Earl of Desmond and was captained by James Goughe.²⁶⁴ Another mariner identified the Waterford ship as the *Mary Wynter* which was co-owned by the Earl of Desmond and a gentleman by the name of Davy Poore.²⁶⁵ De Grybers statement stands in blatant opposition to what John Ellyott reports, thereby implicating him in a case of piracy.

According to de Gryber, the two ships brought in to port with them a 70-ton Biscayan vessel as a prize. The captured vessel’s hold was full of Bordeaux wines.²⁶⁶ These wines were removed and eventually placed aboard a small boat, or a ‘picard’, that was setting out for England or Wales. The same small ship returned to Youghal fifteen days later ‘laden with sea coals’.²⁶⁷ De Gryber’s statement provided a small escape clause for Ellyott, declaring that he heard the master of the ‘Plymouth ship claimed that he found the prize at sea with no creature aboard her.’²⁶⁸ De Gryber also verified that, during his time in Youghal, he ‘saw no

²⁶² Deposition of Dominic de Gryber, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/7/ff 437-7v.

²⁶³ Tun, from the Latin Tunellus, is an English unit of liquid volume used when measuring wine, etc. The exact value was not indefinite. For example a tun may define 240 gallons or 252. In the fifteenth century, a tune was set at 252 so it could easily be divided by small integers. Ronald E. Zupko, *A Dictionary of Weights and Measurements for the British Isles: The Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1985), 423-6.

²⁶⁴ ‘Of the two men of war, the one from Ireland belonged to the earl of Desmond and James Gough was her captain’. 24 April 1551. Deposition of Nicholas de Arano, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/7 /ff 437v-8.

²⁶⁵ 24 April 1551, Deposition of Dominic de Gorcam, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/7/ ff 438-8v. The Earl of Desmond’s connections with piracy will expanded upon in chapter two, ‘Official Piracy’.

²⁶⁶ The vine was introduced to the Bordeaux region by the Romans and has been in continuous production ever since. In the sixteenth century, Bordeaux became the centre of the distribution of sugar and slaves from the Wes Indies along with the traditional wine. Hugh Johnson, *World Atlas of Wine* (London: Octopus Publishing Group Ltd., 1994), 13.

²⁶⁷ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/7/ ff 438-8v. The ‘sea coal’ referred to here is most likely coal that has been washed up on the beach, coming from coal seams in sea cliffs or underwater deposits. The term has since been expanded to include any coal shipped by sea.

²⁶⁸ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/7/ff 437-7v. There are very few documented cases of ships being found at sea empty as alleged by the master of the fly. The cases are so rare that the best-documented case of a ship found sailing empty was dubbed a ‘Ghost Ship’. The *Mary Celeste* was an American brigantine found adrift and

Spaniard in the prize, or aboard the men of war.’²⁶⁹ De Gryber’s deposition conveys scepticism regarding the prize vessel as having been found abandoned at sea. He includes in his narrative knowledge of the captive ship as well as her crew. He knew the ship to be ‘a Biscayan ship of Plasencia’ because he had encountered her a year previously, when ‘he saw her fishing at Baltimore under the command of Roderigo de Pieta.’²⁷⁰

It is unclear what part John Eyllott played in the capture of the Biscayan ship. There may be truth in his statement that he was not the owner of the *Fly* when the controversy took place. However, it can be surmised that John Ellyott was a fairly well to do gentleman of standing in Plymouth as we find him documented in a sale of firearms to the Mayor of Plymouth in March 1542.²⁷¹ His involvement with the Biscayan ship is probable given that Ellyott’s name is mentioned at the time the ship was brought into Youghal as a prize. Furthermore, Ellyott’s monetary claims for the vessel as it was found in Penzance includes the contents of her cargo, to which he would have no right if the ship was no longer in his possession when they were put in the ship’s hold. It could be argued that Ellyott was trying to make up the difference of the price promised by Vaughan for the ship. However, this seems unlikely as the addition of the cargo values would exceed the original sale price of the ship, therefore it is more likely that Ellyott was trying to make a profit from the claim. The fact that the prize ship was of Spanish origin suggests that she was taken under the cover of times of uncertain political alliances. Political ties between England and Spain were strained from

deserted in the Atlantic Ocean (4 December 1872). The ship was still amply provisioned; her cargo intact and the crew’s personal belongings were undisturbed. All those that had sailed on the *Mary Celeste* were never found. Paul Begg, *Mary Celeste: The Greatest Mystery of the Sea* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2007).

²⁶⁹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/7/ff 437-7v.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Bond of William Hawkins and John Ellyott, in £10, to the Mayor and Commonalty of Plymouth. ‘...that if William Eggecombe on thyside the feste of the Natiuitie of Seynt John the baptiste next comyng do make twoo sufficient new gounes for the towne of jj broken gounes of the townes whiche be delyu r yd to hum to new make and to aggree w th the olde chambers, so that the said jj new gounes be delyu’yd to the towne sufficiently made before the said feste of Seynt John that then this Recognizaunce be vtt r ly voyde and of none effecte.’ 31 March- 33 Hen. VIII 1/260/2 31 March 1542 Plymouth and West Devon Record Office.

Henry's break with Rome, yet the two naval powers would enter into an alliance against the Holy Roman Empire the year following Ellyott's deposition.²⁷²

Had circumstances been different, Ellyott might have tried to claim the actions of the *Fly* under an act of privateering but as he lacked proper papers he may have tried to wash his hands from the act by claiming to have sold the ship for the interim. The fact that Elloytt does not seem to be implicated in piracy in his deposition and is, in fact, looking to regain losses, reflects the difficulties of identifying pirates as well as a degree of acceptance of prize.

The Deposition of John Challoner and the *Eugenius*

The case of the *Eugenius* follows the transformation a ship might undertake under the command of the divers captains that claimed her during times of war. Anthony Stryngar's deposition given on 20 June 1556 provides insight into the 'life' of one such ship. The *Eugenius*, formerly called the *Katherine* of Calais, was brought from France to St. Katherine's, on the north side of the river Thames in London in 1553.²⁷³ The ship was rebuilt and re-fitted under the command of John Challoner.²⁷⁴ Challoner was a Member of Parliament for both English and Irish Parliaments in 1555 and 1560 respectively. He was also the first Secretary of State for Ireland, a position given to him by Elizabeth I in 1560. As

²⁷² For more information regarding relations between England and Spain see William D. Phillips & Carla Rahn Philips, *A Concise History of Spain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 134-151.

²⁷³ In 1825, by a parliamentary decree, St. Katherine's docks were officially fitted and commercialized. At the time of Challoner's ship fitting, the dock area would have been much smaller though still an active port. Walter Thornbury, 'St. Katherine's Docks,' *Old and New London*, vol. 2 (1878), 117-121, accessed September 25, 2013, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=45080>.

²⁷⁴ John Challoner was born around 1525 to Margaret Myddleton and Roger Challoner. *CSP For.* 1563, p. 519.' *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1509-1558*, ed. S.T. Bindoff, 1982, accessed September 25, 2013, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/chaloner-john-ii-1526-81>.

Secretary, Challoner was also responsible for the Royal Signet and membership of the Privy Council in Ireland.²⁷⁵

The ship under Challoner's care was further furnished with 'divers pieces of ordnance' by a gentleman identified as Mr. Archer.²⁷⁶ Formerly a fishing boat, the *Eugenius* now carried 2 brass pieces of ordnance, 12 bases, 3 double anchors and 3 cables.²⁷⁷ She had a main, fore-, and mizzen mast, and was made low with netting above, with a fair cabin of wainscot, and a nose like a pinnace. The *Eugenius* had been turned into a battle-worthy vessel from a humble fishing boat.²⁷⁸

Prior to the ship's departure from the Thames, Challoner 'bound himself in certain bonds' in the registry of the Court of Admiralty.²⁷⁹ In the bond, Challoner promised not to transport the *Eugenius*, or another ship under his command called the *John Baptist*, 'unto any other place but that island' of Lambay in Dublin Bay.²⁸⁰ John Challoner shared with Mr. Archer his proposition to sail the *Eugenius* to Lambay as they set sail, but first the ship sailed for 'Calais, thence Dover.'²⁸¹ The vessel then proceeded to Waterford where Challoner went ashore and travelled to Dublin with instructions for the *Eugenuis* to 'follow him to the haven there.' However due to contrary winds the *Eugenius* was forced into Youghal where, at

²⁷⁵ William H. Grattan Flood, 'Lismore During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,' *Journal of the Waterford & South-East of Ireland: Archeaological Society* 7 (Waterford: Harvey & Co., 1901), 156.

²⁷⁶ As no further information is provided in the depositions regarding the *Eugenius* and as Archer is a very common occupational name, no other information could be gathered to further identify this 'Mr. Archer'.

²⁷⁷ Deposition of Anthony Stryngar, *ex parte* John Challoner, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/11/ ff 107v-9v.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ 'This deponent was servant to the head searcher in the custom's-office where Challoner bound himself to sail for Lambay.' 20 June 1556. Deposition of Lawrence Packe, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/11/ f 110.

²⁸⁰ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/11/ ff 107v-9v.

²⁸¹ 20 June 1556[?] (Several dates in this and the successive volume are unclear.) Deposition of William Baitman, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/11/ ff 110v-11. It is not unusual that Challoner sailed for Calais first as his early career was that of an auditor posted in an English-ruled outpost in Calais. *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1509-1558*, ed. S.T. Bindoff (1982), accessed September 25, 2013, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/chaloner-john-ii-1526-81>.

Candlemas around 2 February 1556, the pirate Richard Coole ‘seized her with eight men armed with swords and daggers.’²⁸²

Richard Coole is described briefly in a letter to ‘a justice’, included in a series of excerpts from reports connected to the Tower of London: ‘Richard Coole, of Mynnyt, in the county of Sommerset, mariner, was a pirate by the space of one year, and took divers prizes; and at last he sued to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Mr Bellingham, by five supplications, to come in and submit himself to the King’s mercy.’ The Lord Deputy sent Coole to a castle in ‘Straugham in Ireland, which the Scots had taken’ and, there, Coole ejected the unwanted squatters and restored the rightful owner to the castle. After this task Coole was entrusted by the Lord Deputy to help against a rebel named ‘Savage’ in Ireland in return for the Deputy’s promise to sue for his pardon. ‘Shortly after he was taken by Cornelius and others, of his own good will.’ Coole, at the time of this account, was in prison. As the record is dated 1549 and the above deposition is dated 1556, it is clear that Coole was released from jail and had since returned to piracy.²⁸³

Captain Mannyng, a ‘factor for Challoner’, soon pursued Coole and the *Eugenius*.²⁸⁴ Mannyng was ‘driven into minehead in a hoy bound from Calais towards Ireland’ when he caught sight of Coole and the *Eugenius*.²⁸⁵ Mannyng did all that he could to stay Coole and Challoner’s charge there; however, Coole left before Mannyng could attack him. Challoner

²⁸² John Evans was ‘hired by Challoner about Bartholomew-tide was two years last past’; this equates to roughly 20 June 1556. John Evans was of the parish of Christchurch, London, aged about 31. Deposition of John Evans, PRO H.C.A MS 13/11/ ff 111-1v. ‘Candlemas’ date approximate due to shift from Julian to Gregorian calendar.

²⁸³ Patrick Fraser Tytler, *England Under the Reigns of Edward VI. And Mary with the Contemporary History of Europe: Illustrated in a Series of Original Letters* (London: Richard Bentley, 1839), 270-1.

²⁸⁴ H.C.A. MS 13/11/ ff 107v-9v.

²⁸⁵ The term ‘Hoy’ typically represents a small sloop-rigged ship or heavy barge. However, with time the word evolved and in the fifteenth century encapsulated small sail-rigged warships. Julian S. Corbett, *The Successors of Drake* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1900), 411. This particular statement is complex and might be interpreted in several ways. The mention of ‘minehead’ suggests that Mannyng was off the coast of southern England as Minehead is a civil parish in Somerset. However the deposition further states that he spotted Coole in Ireland. While there is the lighthouse in Ireland called Mine head in Co. Waterford, it was not named until the nineteenth century.

secured the Admiralty's grant that Coole and the *Eugenius* could be attacked 'wheresoever they were found.' A further grant was provided against 'one Veise and Bishopp of Teignmouth for helping and maintaining' Coole.²⁸⁶

Appleby has shown that Coole exercised a freedom in and around Kinsale that any pirates would have envied. Coole married an aunt of a local landed gentleman by the name of Barry Oge. Coole then took up residence in Oge's castle and used it as a raiding base. Coole had a propensity for piracy and yet seemed to be allowed to continue his activities when caught. For example, after his seizure of a Portuguese ship in August 1548, the Admiralty responded by sending servants to Waterford to ensure that the ship was returned to the rightful owners. This action did not stop the local pirates, who flexed their muscles through continued plundering of local shipping and trade.²⁸⁷

At the time when Challoner brought his case to the High Court of Admiralty the *Eugenius* had been spotted at Portsmouth. It had been taken by a Mr. Tyrrell who had captured Coole and other pirates in his last voyage. Tyrrell was working as the Queen's vice-admiral in the borders of Ireland at the time.²⁸⁸ What remains unsaid, however, is whether Coole remained in custody or if he once again escaped the reach of the law. While Coole's comfortable station in life may have allowed him to quit sea adventures; this seems highly unlikely when reflecting on the continued capture and release pattern from his earlier escapades.

²⁸⁶ H.C.A. MS 13/11/ ff 107v-9v.

²⁸⁷ Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag*, 60-2.

²⁸⁸ As Challoner had a representative at the Court of Admiralty testifying on his behalf, it could be assumed that he was busy with other business. M. O'Sullivan points out that Challoner was often focused on mining and minting metals on Lambay. The progress of this was stayed, however, as there was a distinct lack of wood on the island for smelting. As well, Judith Barry points out that Challoner in his position of Secretary did not become very independent or powerful, unlike his contemporary Lord Burghley in England, and, therefore, failed to fulfil the political potential his office offered. However, he may have been preoccupied with Lord Deputy Sussex who burdened Challoner with the collection of Cess Tax. M.D. O'Sullivan, 'The Exploitation of the Mines of Ireland in the 16th century,' *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 24, no. 95 (1935), 451-2. See also, Judith Barry, 'Sir Geoggrey Fenton and the Office of Secretary of State for Ireland, 1580-1608,' *Irish Historical Studies* 35, no. 138 (2006), 137-41.

At the time the *Eugenius* was taken by Challoner to undergo her first transformation, England was at odds with France; it had just concluded one war and would enter into another within a couple years of the sailing of the *Eugenius*. It is therefore reasonable to surmise that the *Katherine* was a prize that underwent a refit to become the warship *Eugenius*. It is also likely that Challoner had the necessary commissions to take and refit the ship. When Coole commandeered the *Eugenius* she became a vessel for seaborne depredation, suitably fitted by Challoner for the needs of attacking merchant vessels; Coole had no need to change her. Mannyng held papers to retake the ship but he was unsuccessful in doing so and it was Tyrrell who eventually brought the *Eugenius* back under the command of the state. The many roles that the ship assumed in the short period of three years highlights the fluid political atmosphere of the century and the opportunities it provided for seaborne depredation.

The Deposition of John Corbett and the *Canter*

The deposition of John Corbett is unusual among the cases discussed in this chapter. This particular case illustrates the political dissensions found within Ireland during the sixteenth century that aided the development of piracy in and around the island. Nicholas White apprehended the ship the *Canter* while serving under the Queen's commission off the coast of Ireland. The *Canter* had been cruising under full sail from Spain to Ireland, carrying victuals for James Fitzmaurice 'and his consorts'.²⁸⁹ The ship was brought into Waterford where she was 'adjusted as lawful prize' by the Lord President of Ireland, Sir William Drury, as well as Lord 'Wormewoode and the rest of the council there.'²⁹⁰ The men commended Nicholas White for his courageous services on behalf of the Queen and in recompense they gave White the *Canter* and everything within her hold. In October 1579, a gentleman by the name of John

²⁸⁹ 27 July 1580. Deposition of John Corbett, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/24/ ff 96v-7.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

Corbett working on behalf of the Queen heard that White had traded the *Canter* to Humfrey Nicholls for a debt he owed which was estimated to be £120 or £140. From that time, Humfrey Nicholls was the lawful owner of the *Canter* which he promptly renamed the *John*.²⁹¹

A further witness was brought forward to provide testimony regarding the *Canter*. This witness claimed that he was appointed purser of the vessel in January 1580. He served under commission from 'Her Majesty', sailing the newly named *John* for Limerick and the 'north west' areas of Ireland.²⁹² During his voyages he had 'certain writings committed to his custody' by the captain of the *John*, Ralph Burne.²⁹³ Among the papers entrusted to him was the 'conveyance of sale'.

At first these testimonies imply a privateering venture. White retained papers which pardoned his plundering actions while a merchant was left without his goods. However, this is only the tip of the proverbial ice-berg. The Nicholas White referred to is probably Sir Nicholas White who served in many roles, including those of an Irish lawyer and government official during Elizabeth I's reign. White came from an influential family within the Pale. White's father was James White of Waterford, steward of the Earl of Ormond. White's education was provided for by the Earl.²⁹⁴ After his father's death in 1558, White was called to the Bar. Over the course of his studies in England, White served as a tutor to Sir William Cecil's children.²⁹⁵ White returned to Ireland and, in 1559, he was elected as a member of the Irish Parliament, acting as a representative for Co. Kilkenny. In 1563, White acted as justice of the peace for the same county and in the following year he was named recorder of

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² 27 August 1580. Deposition of William Pryn, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/24/ ff 103-4.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Bernard Burke, *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales*, vol. 3 (Dublin: Heritage Books Inc., 1842), 1103.

²⁹⁵ Later known as Lord Burghley. John Burke, *A General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire*, Vol. 2 (London: Richard Bently, 1833), 517.

Waterford. With such an active career it is unsurprising that in 1567 he purchased Leixlip Castle, built at the confluence of the River Liffey and the Rye Water, Dublin, to call it home.²⁹⁶

White was appointed to the post of seneschal of Wexford on 4 November 1568 by Elizabeth. At the same time, he was made constable of Leighlin and Ferns, replacing Thomas Stuckley, the disgraced adventurer who would later sell his services to Spain.²⁹⁷ White remained in this office until 1572, passing his time in the pursuit of the rebels following under Fiach McHugh O'Byrne, who had murdered his daughter and son-in-law Robert Browne of Mulcranan, Co. Wexford.²⁹⁸

On 14 July 1572, White was appointed Master of the Rolls in Ireland on the recommendation of William Fitzwilliam then Lord Deputy of Ireland. Despite the royally appointed offices he held, White was viewed with suspicion by fellow privy councillors. He came across as partisan, often taking independent positions in opposition to the New English factions on the council. Despite the suspicions against him, White worked intimately with English political leadership during the second Desmond Rebellion. Due to his reputation for favouring the Old English, he was blamed for the failure to apprehend rebels in Wicklow during the rebellion.²⁹⁹ It is around this time that White was sailing on the prowl for prizes and that he apprehended the *Canter* to later trade her in for his debts.

With the arrival of Sir John Perrot in 1584 as the new Lord Deputy of Ireland, White was knighted. He worked with Perrot to create an effective working administration, however

²⁹⁶ Leixlip Castle remained in White's family until 1728, at which point Leixlip Castle and 809 acres around it was then purchased by William Conolly, the Irish politician, of Castletown House for £12,000. White would eventually establish an estate near Knocktopher, County Kilkenny. He also acquired Dunbrody Abbey in County Wexford and the Castle and St Catherine's Priory at Leixlip, County Kildare. Burke, *A General and Heraldic Dictionary*, 517; John O' Hart, *The Irish and Anglo-Irish Landed Gentry: When Cromwell Came to Ireland* (Dublin: Heritage Books Inc., 1884), 254-5.

²⁹⁷ April 1572. *CSPI, 1509-1573*, 469; April 1574. *CSPI, 1574-1585*, 20.

²⁹⁸ Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 117.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

by the end of Perrot's service, White had been vilified as a minion of Perrot's. White was no better off with the return of William FitzWilliam in 1588, as he was the focus of resentment for many of the English on the council board. White was eventually implicated in allegations of treason made against Perrot in 1589 and despite old age and illness he was arrested in June 1590. White died in the Tower of London in 1592.

Nicholas White's contemporary, and the other important player in this case, James FitzMaurice is best known for leading the Desmond rebellions in 1569. When Gerald Fitz James Fitzgerald earl of Desmond was sent to prison in the Tower of London, a dangerous political vacuum was created in the earldom. Desmond therefore chose Fitz Maurice to act as 'captain-general' of the Desmond Geraldines.³⁰⁰ Fitz Maurice was chosen as a kinsman with proven military prowess.

The motivation for the taking of the *Cantor* may be reinterpreted in light of contextual evidence. White's past reveals that he was fostered in youth by the Earl of Ormond. It becomes possible, then, that this case of spoil against Desmond stems from an old feudal power struggle.³⁰¹ However, little else in White's life shows that he had taken up his foster

³⁰⁰ Anthony M. McCormack, *The Earldom of Desmond 1463-1583: The Decline and Crisis of a Feudal Lordship* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 109.

³⁰¹ The two feudal factions, Desmond and Ormond, are noted as great rivals of medieval and early modern Ireland. Sharing a large border with each other stretching from modern day Waterford to Tipperary, the two opposing families were often in bitter conflict. Contrary to the Crown's wishes the two earldoms frequently raided into one another's territory, created and occupied castles and forts along their common border, supported and maintained enemies of their enemy and stoked up discontent against the other as often as they could. Ormond, headed by Thomas Butler, the 10th Earl, found favouritism with the English Monarchy, much as the family had during the reign of Henry VIII. The Ormonds ensured that they remained on the side of the crown and whatever lord deputy held sway at that time. It would be easy to portray Ormond in a villainous light during the sixteenth century; however, choosing to be a Protestant in the time of Elizabeth I was a wise political decision, on top of being a religious affiliation. Contrary to Ormond, Desmond, while not exactly out of favour, was neither in it. The Desmond faction was led by Gerald Fitzgerald, the 15th Earl. Conflicts against Thomond and Ormond, their highly Catholic ethos and a poor first impression made by Gerald combined to set Desmond apart from royal favour and served as a prelude to future rebellions against the English crown by the Earldom as seen in 1564. The Crown and Lord Deputies tried to no avail to intervene and put an end to the internecine conflict between the feuding Earldoms. All settlements were invariably broken shortly after they were made. Elizabeth I, annoyed with the two vassals in constant conflict with each other and dissatisfied with a feud and warfare that had practically been the status quo for centuries in Ireland, was unwilling to overlook the Earldoms. Therefore, in line with Tudor attempts to gain greater control in Ireland, things came to a head with the rebellion in 1565. McCormack, *The Earldom of Desmond*, 17-18, 64-71, 88- 108.

father's personal grudges. It should not, however, be taken for granted that White was led by biases towards Ormond or the 'Old English'. His moves were calculated and decisive. White was enriched monetarily by acting as a privateer, and his aims may have been purely fiscal. This case could also be considered as politically motivated, as one of the ships in the case can possibly be identified as opposing the 'Old English'.

This case could be recognized as a political power play by the 'New English' in an attempt to exercise their power over the 'Old English' or, perhaps, 'putting them in their place'. The capture could be construed as a political tactic on the part of the 'New English' administration against their 'Old English' opponents.³⁰² The *Cantor* had been sailing from Spain in the years directly before England declared war against Spain. However, the ship belonged to and sailed for an Irishman, the fact that it was adjusted as 'lawful prize' is therefore surprising when prizes were usually enemy ships.

The *Golden Noble* and the use of Letters

Many of the previous cases could have been classified under the theme of chapter 2 which considers 'Official' piracy. However, their political nature classified them under the present category. The last example of piracy considered in this chapter is the case of the *Golden Noble*. This case stands apart from the previous examples of piracy because the use of Letters of Reprisal is explicitly stated and their existence is undeniable, unlike the previous case of Worshipp and the vessel *Hope* in which only one deposition could confirm their existence. The case provides an excellent example of the proper use of Letters of Reprisal during sixteenth-century privateering as well as the eventual depredation that often came with them.

³⁰² See discussion on pages 35-36.

The *Golden Noble* was set forth against the Spanish, her captain possessed Letters of Reprisal against Spanish shipping and merchants.³⁰³ While sailing the waters along the coast of Spain in search of a prize, the *Golden Noble* crossed paths with the *Mary Fortune* sailing out of Bristol.³⁰⁴ Amicably the two ships travelled together for ‘some time’ during which they crossed paths with the *Globe*, a ship transporting iron and wooden hoops.³⁰⁵ Both the *Golden Noble* and the *Mary Fortune* declared the *Globe* as a prize and captains of both ships made an agreement to escort the *Globe* back to England.³⁰⁶

During the subsequent journey to England the *Globe* was brought into Ireland. Here the crew of the *Mary Fortune* ‘disposed the company of the *Golden Noble*’ from the *Globe*. The crew then proceeded to sell some of her cargo locally, including iron, powder and calivers.³⁰⁷ The remainder of the *Globe*’s cargo was later brought to Bristol.³⁰⁸

The information regarding the *Golden Noble* and the *Globe* was, according to the deposition, provided by a gentleman of London named Henry Middleton. There is an unfortunate lack of any other personal information regarding Middleton apart from his age and place of residence. It is likely, however, that this Henry Middleton is the same knighted sea captain and adventurer who sailed for a time with the East India Company. Middleton established himself as an experienced adventurer, participating in the first expedition to East India in April 1601, where he sailed together with his brother John Middleton and James

³⁰³ The *Golden Noble* served against the Armada and in the Portugal expedition. It was freighted for a Barbary voyage in 1590. Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering During the Spanish War, 1585-1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 103.

³⁰⁴ The *Mary Fortune* is mentioned in several documents, including the will of Hugh Readinge, who served as a gunner aboard the ship. Sheila Lang and Margret McGregor, ed., *Tudor Wills Proved in Bristol, 1546-1603* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1993), 79.

³⁰⁵ It is unclear if ‘wooden hoops’ should be understood literally or if they refer to a ‘Spanish Farthingale’ which was a hoop used in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to support skirts.

³⁰⁶ Deposition of Henry Middleton, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/34/ ff146v-9.

³⁰⁷ Caliver: An early design of hand gun, a variety of the arquebus; originally having a regular size of bore.

³⁰⁸ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/34/ ff146v-9.

Lancaster as a mercantile agent aboard the *Scourge of Malice*.³⁰⁹ Middleton would later rise to command the *Red Dragon* on a second voyage in March 1604.

The use of Letters and Reprisals was particularly common in this period, a reflection of the Anglo-Spanish conflict. They regularly show up in correspondences during the sixteenth century. For example, a letter from Lord Deputy Sentleger to the Privy Council reports, 'Merchants complain of the arrest of their ships in Spain... want to make reprisals on Spaniards, Flemings, and Genoese...'³¹⁰ Later, he sent a request on behalf of a John Hill, 'for a commission to...take up men and victual to equip three ships, with which he intends to cruise against the French and Scots on the Irish coast.'³¹¹

Petitions also highlight the use of Letters to the advantage of or sometimes detriment to their holder. For example, a petition sent to Lord Burghley from a 'soldier in Ireland...driven to great poverty' that 'holdeth by Her Majesty's letters' which beseeched, 'For God's sake, that you may see your suppliant have right, according the true meaning of his patent holden by Her Majesty. He hath done good service to Her Majesty with a ship of his own, and hath been robbed and spoiled by one pirate called Purser of all that ever he had' to his full undoing.³¹²

Purser was a persistent problem for Ireland according to the State Papers. In March of 1583, the Lord Justice Wallop sent a letter to Burghley in which he complains of a pirate called Purser. Thomas Walton of Cheshire alias the Pirate Purser had caused considerable damage to shipping with his bark of 100 tons and 80 men and had raised alarm with all the

³⁰⁹ Margaret Makepeace, 'Middleton, Sir Henry (d. 1613)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed November 24, 2012, www.oxforddnb.com/index/18/101018673.

³¹⁰ 30 June 1545. *CSPI*, 1509-1573, 72.

³¹¹ 27 July 1545. *Ibid*.

³¹² Petition of John Rawson, 7 November 1587. *CSPI*, 1596-1588, 430.

Lord Justices.³¹³ Action was taken to stop Purser at the beginning of April. In a letter dated 3 April, the Lord Justices commissioned Captain Thomas Wye to ‘go with Her Majesty’s pinnace from Galway, and endeavour to take Thomas Walton alias Purser, the pirate.’³¹⁴ Others were also chasing pirates during this time. In a letter from Sir Warham Sentleger to Walsyngham, Sentleger commends a Mr. Fynyn O’Driscoll for ‘loyally behaving in this dangerous time’ and his ‘good actions against pirates.’³¹⁵

Captain Wye is not immediately successful in his quest for Purser as a letter in December of 1583 illustrates. In a petition of Maurice Fowler of Cork to the Privy Council, Purser is coupled with another pirate, Clinton, in spoiling Fowler’s ship, of which Fowler lobbies that he ‘could never recover the same’ and ‘being brought to great poverty’ desired relief.³¹⁶ In a second petition, Fowler requested a license to beg for a year due to loss of his property to rebels and his ship, which he valued at 500l, to ‘English pirates’.³¹⁷ What became of Purser is obscure.

What can be seen through these correspondences and the case of the *Golden Noble* is a reliance on the ambiguous nature of the charters to excuse illicit illegal activity that may have led to private gain or personal ruin. In the war-charged climate of the late sixteenth century sailors were willing to move outside the law to find satisfactory remuneration to or generate a sustainable income. Contemporary opinion states that seamen fell into ‘unlawful courses’ because of poverty and idleness.³¹⁸ Henry Mainwaring, the great pirate-turned-admiral of James I’s reign, claimed that common seamen turned to piracy because they ‘are

³¹³ 15 March 1583. Ibid., 433.

³¹⁴ 3 April 1583. Ibid., 438.

³¹⁵ Unfortunately, no further information regarding ‘Fynyn’ or Finian O’Driscoll could be found. 15 August 1583. Ibid., 463.

³¹⁶ December 1583. Ibid., 487.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Kenneth R. Andrews, ‘The Elizabethan Seaman,’ *Mariner’s Mirror* 68 (1982), 251; PRO HCA, MS 1/44/17 & 1/45/87v-8.

so generally necessitous and discontented.’³¹⁹ Clear examples of the animosity between nations cannot be dismissed as seen in the case of the *Mary* of Waterford. The cases of the *Mary Bonadventure* and the *Little Amity* show that many acts of politically charged piracy resulted from sudden opportunisms and may have been motivated more by economic necessity which might include capturing prizes to reclaim losses and to pay backers and crews.

With the exception of a few notorious ‘full-time’ pirates, such as Thomas Watson (alias Purser), the evidence here presented suggests that most pirating crews did not live permanently outside the law. The depositions indicate that many men involved in piracy also participated in legitimate maritime community activities as in the case of the *Margaret*. Middleton seems to have been legitimately serving the crown when he had his prize taken from him. In many cases, the pirates, such as those in the case of the *Little Amity* with Letters of Reprisal, were ‘privateers’ in error.

The British Crown’s first Parliament of January 1559 was unified in the decision to keep a Navy ‘ever in readiness against all evil haps....’³²⁰ Throughout Elizabeth’s reign, the monarchy provided continuous moderate support for a national policy that sought to promote shipbuilding and an increase in mariners. The Queen sought to promote shipbuilding and an increase in seamen, as illustrated by the impositions of Fish Days.³²¹

The surge of piracy in the seventeenth and eighteenth century was arguably aided as by-product of the political climate of the Tudor regime. This is exemplified in the case of the *Flower* taken by the organised fleet of fourteen ships. Sir William Monson, a late Elizabethan naval captain, remarked that the naval mariner’s ‘usage had been so ill that it is no marvel

³¹⁹ Andrews, ‘The Elizabethan Seaman,’ 249-50.

³²⁰ David W. Waters, ‘The Elizabethan Navy and the Armada Campaign,’ *Mariner’s Mirror* 35 (1949), 91.

³²¹ Ibid.

they show their unwillingness to serve the Queen.’³²² Sir Walter Raleigh further acknowledged that the men of his time served their sovereign ‘with a great grudging’ and viewed such duty as equivalent to being galley slaves.³²³ It hardly begs question where a mariner would rather serve.

Naval service offered little hope of fortune for the average mariner, unlike privateering or piracy. Even merchant voyages promised a regular wage without the hazards of life on a man-of-war. Despite the deteriorating relations with Spain and the need for England to maintain a regular naval presence, the monarchy did not seriously contemplate a standing navy until 1603.³²⁴ It was much easier on the treasury purse strings to impress merchant vessels and men when the situation demanded. This is evidenced by Bingham’s attempt to impress the *Margaret* in the case of Giles Popkins. The Crown was able to wage a successful war of attrition against Spain by relying on occasional naval expeditions subsidised by privateers and ‘uncontrollable pirates’ such as the pirate Coole in the case of the *Eugenius*. The uncertain legality of some privateering ventures like that described in the *Golden Noble* created a grey area within the law. As discussed earlier in the general history, Ireland had an ambiguous national status; this facilitated a cover for all such ventures which were especially prolific during Elizabeth’s reign. Therefore it is possible that the ambiguity of Ireland’s nationhood contributed to the growth of seaborne depredation. The late war years of the sixteenth century provided a catalyst for the larger and more popular pirating era that immediately followed.

³²² Monson was referring to the lack of charity for sick seamen and the irregularity of seamen’s pay. Sir William Monson, *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson Vol. 4*, ed., M. Oppenheim (London: Navy Record Society, 1902), 244.

³²³ Sir Walter Raleigh, *Judicious and select Essays and Observations* (London: Humphrey Mosele, 1650), 30.

³²⁴ Scammell, ‘Sinews of War’, 355.

Chapter 2

‘Official’ Piracy

As already illustrated, piracy was a continuous presence throughout the sixteenth century. The majority of the select cases presented so far represent the later part of the period, specifically the period spanning from 1573 to 1598. It was during this time leading up to the Anglo-Spanish war and its climax that piracy blossomed as contentions over religion and westward expansion and domination arose. Ireland’s fluctuating state encouraged piracy to flourish not only under the guise of nationalism and politics but through support of her officials. Many people were involved in piratical activities, eager to explore and exploit its potentials. Some of these people were of status, high status. Many of the most successful pirates kept friends in high places. The monarchy used pirates as pawns to wage war because they were ‘commonly the most daring and serviceable in war’.³²⁵ The Crown had a long history of employing pirates to represent the ‘land’ on sea. Privateering was essentially government-sanctioned piracy that aided the war effort by draining Spain’s resources. Many pirates proved willing privateers and some were offered pardons in exchange for service to the state.³²⁶

The services of such experienced sea rovers helped England wage a successful war of attrition. Corrupt officials, piracy and misguided privateering contributed to the growing lawlessness at sea during the war years. The following cases perhaps do not represent the earliest examples. They do, however, showcase clear examples of ‘Official Piracy’. While this term is a recognised form of piracy, official and unofficial, the title assigned to this

³²⁵ Andrews, ‘The Elizabethan Seaman,’ 251.

³²⁶ C. L’Estrange Ewen, ‘Organized Piracy Round England in the Sixteenth Century’, *Mariner’s Mirror* 35 (1949), 31.

chapter plays on the term ‘official’ as each case involves governmental ‘officials’ or people of high status.

The Deposition of John Brodeway and the *Peter and Paul*

The case of the *Peter and Paul* depicts piracy in a non-traditional manner. The ship was not hijacked by another ship on the high seas, but was commandeered in port. The pirates in this case were not swashbuckling sea savvy men but men of high status and held official positions. In his deposition, Brodeway testified that 14 days before All Saints day, 1 November 1572, he was hired to be a pilot for the French ship *Peter and Paul*. His job was to guide the ship laden with various goods from Marseille in the south to New Haven, France. The ship ‘fell afoul’ of weather and made port in Youghal, where it was detained by Giles Clencher, who at this time was an officer serving under the earl of Kildare. The ship was demanded by Sir John Perrot and after being refused, Sir John removed the ship in person from Youghal to Cork.³²⁷

The goods for trade were then removed from the ship. Brodeway suggests that Sir John went on to trade the goods for his own gain, stating that ‘...The cargo was discharged and put into cellars. About Christmas following Perrott laded one bark with soap, sugars, oils and spices and sent it to Bristol.’ It is unknown to whom these goods were traded at that time, but as mentioned in Chapter 1, Bristol was a common port of trade for Ireland. Brodeway testified that the merchants of the ship were relieved of any jewels, stones, gold and pearls before being detained in Ireland as prisoners.³²⁸

³²⁷ Deposition of John Brodeway, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/19/ ff 420-21.

³²⁸ Ibid.

Not much is known about the plaintiff John Brodeway as he does not appear in other documents. Brodeway testified that he was a British citizen, born in Ratcliffe, London, England; and he was a mariner by vocation.³²⁹ When Brodeway accepted position of pilot for the vessel *Peter and Paul* he accepted responsibility to guide the ship through unknown waters and provide safe navigation of the vessel into the port of New Haven. The importance of Brodeway's position was not only to provide expert local knowledge of the port which he was navigating but, being an outsider to the ship, he would be free from possible economic pressures that could compromise the safety of the crew and the ship.

As for Giles Clencher, the officer loyal to the Earl of Kildare, even less is known of him. Clencher's name appears in a couple of different depositions stretching over several cases.³³⁰ Like his master, he may have been sympathetic to a more Gaelicised way of life and may have also been sympathetic toward Catholicism.³³¹ The Earl of Kildare mentioned in the case of the *Peter and Paul* was the eleventh Earl of Kildare, Gerald Fitzgerald. Fitzgerald assumed his role of Earl at a very young age, following the execution of his half-brother Silken Thomas by Henry VIII.³³² Because of Thomas's activities, Gerald spent much of his youth on the run in Ireland and was protected from Henry VIII by both Francis I of France and Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire.³³³ Once restored as Earl after the death of Henry VIII, Fitzgerald was received with hostility from his peers and successive Lord Deputies.

It is understandable then, that the Earl was frequently accused of treason against the crown. However, the Earl's motive behind the captivity of the *Peter and Paul* remains

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ See Deposition of Giles Wiggers, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/22/ff 40v-2.

³³¹ These observations are based on the assumption that Clencher shared a similar perspective to the earl that he served. Gaelicised is a term often applied to the Old English or Anglo-Irish that adopted the Gaelic language, legal structures, styles and other customs such as fosterage and intermarriage with the native Irish and the patronage of bards.

³³² Juliet Gardiner, ed., *The History Today: Who's Who in British History* (London: Collins & Brown Ltd., 2000), 320.

³³³ Vincent Carey, *Surviving the Tudors - The 'Wizard' Earl of Kildare and English Rule in Ireland, 1537- 1586* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 151.

unidentifiable. During the time frame of this case, England was involved in the Eighty Years' War, in which France was an ally against Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. As such, Gerald's religious convictions might be considered as the motivation for his actions. Gerald's early years of education in a monastery left him a staunch Catholic, a religion which the Earl openly professed.³³⁴

In addition, his family belonged to the 'Old English' aristocracy who tended to prefer a more Gaelicised way of life. Much of Gaelic Ireland professed not only religious but also historical ties with Spain. Therefore, the Earl may have acted from these influences. While it is possible that Gerald's actions were dictated then by a religious agenda, this remains a hypothesis as there remains no immediate prerogative for his staying of the French ship. Perhaps the Earl's motive was purely economic. Despite being highly intelligent, Fitzgerald lacked political skills and with the turbulent political nature of the 1560s and '70s the earldom was increasingly vulnerable to attacks.³³⁵

The practice of religion among the maritime community is a topic that has yet to be researched adequately. Whereas some historians have been ready to accept the idea that Elizabethan seafarers were not influenced by their devotion to the new Protestant religion, other historians see religion as one of the motivating factors spurring the sea-dogs on in the naval and privateering war with Spain.³³⁶ P.E.H. Hair's article, 'Protestants as Pirates

³³⁴ Carey, *Surviving the Tudors*, 151.

³³⁵ The earl's military responsibilities were increased steadily from the time of his return to Ireland in 1555. During the governorship of the earl of Sussex, Kildare's responsibilities covered duties from normal commissions to maintaining the peace to commissions and executing martial law. The earl's responsibilities culminated, during Sussex's campaign against Shane O'Neill in 1563, when Fitzgerald was entrusted with the authority to keep the peace over the entire province of Leinster. 'This specific commission elevated Kildare to the position of general of the Leinster forces, should marauders invade the area during the governor's absence.' Ibid., 80-1.

³³⁶ Bernard Capp is one of the few historians who attempt an analysis of the interrelationship between the English navy and religion. In *Cromwell's Navy*, Capp explores the relationship between naval seamen and Puritanism during the Interregnum and comes to the conclusion that the rank and file were generally resistant to the more strident form of Protestantism. Bernard Capp, *Cromwell's Navy: The Fleet and the English Revolution 1648-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) Chapter 9.

Slavers, and Proto-missionaries: Sierra Leone 1568 and 1582', explores the problem between England's seamen and the Inquisition.

Mariners' responses during interrogations show, in most of the cases, that English crewman were not adept at 'acting Catholic', even in circumstances where men were actively trying to convince their captors of their adherence to the Church of Rome.³³⁷ It appears that most of the inhabitants of England had moved too far away from orthodox Catholicism by this point. The removal of Catholicism corresponded with the larger difference between England and those countries that remained loyal to Rome and the Pope. By having loyalty to the faith of the Crown, loyalty to the monarch was shown. Religion therefore needs to be considered carefully in context with piracy and politics, particularly during the Tudor period.

While the reasoning behind the Earl of Kildare's role in the case of the *Peter and Paul* remains unclear, the proceedings of his contemporary Sir John Perrot are more straightforward. Sir John Perrot served as the Lord Deputy of Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth I from 1584 until his recall in 1588.³³⁸ In this particular case, we only have the plaintiff's deposition to illustrate Perrot's part in the taking of the *Peter and Paul*. Brodeway writes a specific list of goods that are lade aboard a bark and sent to Bristol. These goods later match exactly with the cargo confiscated from the *Peter and Paul*, Brodeway continues, '... He (Sir John Perrot) caused a bark of Milford Haven, of 24 tons, to be laden with similar wares and certain bags of cotton wool... Sir John took from the merchants jewels and stones as well as 2 chains of gold and 2 pearls from one Lucas.'³³⁹

As an individual holding a royally appointed office, Perrot would be expected to carry out his actions in accordance to the wishes of the Queen. Yet his deeds against the ship and

³³⁷ P.E.H, Hair 'Protestants as Pirates, Slavers, and Proto-missionaries: Sierra Leone 1568 and 1582,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 21, (1970) 211.

³³⁸ Gardiner, *The History Today*, 645; Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 96, 111-112.

³³⁹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/19/ ff 420-21.

crew of the *Peter and Paul* appear misaligned with his position. The deposition makes it clear that the ship sailing from Marseille was destined for arrival at a different French port when it was blown off course. There was no question of the nationality of the crew directing the ship, which should have been unmolested as an ally of England at the time of its seizure. A correspondence sent three days after Brodeway's testimony to the Lord Deputy reiterates this point. Dated 31 March 1573, the Privy Council blamed Perrot's 'proceedings as to the ship of Marseilles.' They further required 'him to set at liberty all men [and] to send an inventory of the goods, and other papers.'³⁴⁰

It is understandable that the Privy Council would request an inventory to be sent, as Brodeway's deposition strangely omits any mention of the Crown's share or the 'Crown's tenths'. In cases of enemy vessel seizure or ship-wreck, officials representing the Crown would traditionally claim a 10 per cent bounty for the Crown. This is often noted in depositions as we shall see in further case studies.³⁴¹ As the custom is not mentioned in this particular case, it may be assumed that the Crown's share was either omitted from the deposition by error or the Lord Deputy did not act in the traditional manner that his title required. With the majority of evidence implying that this particular regulation was often noted, it seems likely that the second point may be the case. This may further illustrate the argument that Perrot claimed the *Peter and Paul* for personal economic gain.

One further correspondence refers to the Marseilles vessel, penned by Perrot himself. In a rather delayed response to the Privy Council, dated the 11 May 1573, Perrot defends his actions. He claims that his response to the situation was carried out with nothing but the best intentions for the pilfered crew and ship. In response to their letters of March 'concerning the

³⁴⁰ *CSPI, 1509-1573*, 498.

³⁴¹ See Deposition of Ralph Winter, PRO H.C.A. 13/14/ f 86v; deposition of Peter Duperry, PRO H.C.A. 13/17/ f 269; deposition of Robert Sare, PRO H.C.A. 13/19/ f 386; and deposition of Richard Brinnegan, PRO H.C.A. 13/33/ f 33v.

stay of the *Peter and Paul*, of Marseilles', Perrot writes that 'he was *obliged* to bring her into the haven of Cork, with 40 men, to *save* her from the pirates Piper and Garrat.'³⁴² Apart from Perrot's communication there is no other information or documents that expressly address either of the named pirates he identifies. In a malapert move Parrot further requests 'to have the goods of the ship according to their praisement [sic]'.³⁴³ Brodeway's statement specifically details Perrot's freighting activities up to a full year after the taking of the *Peter and Paul*. He is careful to point out various similar goods to those that were taken from the pirated ship.

One of two conclusions can be ascertained from this. The first is that the Privy Council retracted their original displeasure of the Lord Deputy's actions and granted Perrot rights to the *Peter and Paul*'s lading with the understanding that the rightful bearers of the goods were being physically held captive by the Deputy. The second possible scenario is that without follow up on behalf of the Privy Council, Perrot ignored their original request and continued pirating the ship as he pleased. It should be noted that Sir John departed Ireland without leave in July 1573. He returned to his home in Wales, most likely to Pembrokeshire, at the castle of Laugharne.³⁴⁴ From here he served as vice-admiral of the Welsh seas as well as on the Council of the Marches. In 1578, the deputy-admiral, Richard Vaughan, accused Perrot of tyranny, subversion of justice, and dealing with pirates.³⁴⁵

Yet Perrot maintained the confidence of Elizabeth I, and, in 1578, he became commissioner for piracy in Pembrokeshire. In the following year, Perrot even received the command of a naval squadron charged with the interception of Spanish ships on the Irish

³⁴² Emphasis added by author. Ernest George Atkinson, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, November 1600-July 1601* (London: Mackie & Co., Ltd., 1905), 502. Hereafter *CSPI, 1600-1601*.

³⁴³ *CSPI, 1600-1601*, 502.

³⁴⁴ Perrot was granted the castle and lordship of Carew in Pembrokeshire.

³⁴⁵ Roger Turvey, *The Treason and Trail of Sir John Perrot* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), 108-9, 112, 148-9.

coast.³⁴⁶ The favour Perrot seemed to keep with the Queen was not to last. He eventually ended up a prisoner of the Tower of London where, in 1592, he was brought to trial for charges of high treason.³⁴⁷ The evidence presented illustrated that Perrot had disparaged Elizabeth I's legitimacy on several occasions. Though sentencing was held off for some months after a verdict of guilty was charged against him, Perrot died in the Tower in September of 1592. It is unknown if Elizabeth I intended to pardon him.³⁴⁸

If we are to reconsider the *Peter and Paul* case from a different perspective and, instead, accept that the Crown's share was collected by the Lord Deputy but was simply omitted from further documentation, it could provide a flimsy explanation to why Perrot still curried favour with the Queen. The Monarch's treasury would have benefited from such a situation. However, Elizabeth's confidence in Perrot could also be counted not on a mere monetary gain of 10 per cent from a single ship, but to the overall loyalty shown by the Lord Deputy compared to that of the nobility of the English, both 'old' and 'new', residing in Ireland during a turbulent period of religious and political dissension.

Where the head of a high-ranking Anglo-Irish family began a venture of piracy, an eminent trusted official completed it. With little documentation to draw from, the ulterior motives for the actions of the two 'officials' remain unclear. Yet, based on the life styles of both men, it is highly probable that this was less a crime driven by political or religious convictions than a piracy aided by position and spurred by personal financial gain. With the personal involvement of officials in explicitly illegal acts, it is hardly surprising that the rest of the population in and around port cities felt equally at liberty to trade with pirates.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 155-6.

³⁴⁷ Gardiner, *The History Today*, 645.

³⁴⁸ Turvey, *The Treason and Trail*, 155-6.

The Deposition of Nicholas Mierman and the *Michael Archangel*

The case of the *Michael Archangel* provides another example of the way in which officials abused their positions of power, whether from action or inaction. From the thirteenth century onwards Hamburg traders had established themselves in London due to a contract they possessed with Henry III.³⁴⁹ Hamburg had been a core member of the Hanseatic League of trading cities, playing a critical role in its creation. At the end of the sixteenth century, Hamburg had retained its status as a major trading port.³⁵⁰ In October of 1584, Nicholas Mierman piloted the 320-ton ship *Michael Archangel* alongside another ship, the *David*, from Hamburg laden with ‘wheat, bacon, copper, copperas, quicksilver, linen, gunpowder, buckrams, glue, steel, flax cables and ropes.’³⁵¹ As both ships neared the Isle of Wight, Mierman’s vessel was forcibly taken by two ships of war in the name of Don António, the Portuguese pretender.³⁵² The offensive ships were captained by Cornelius Egmonte and Captain Fludde and were shortly joined by a third pirate, Captain Roche.

Although information regarding these men is incredibly sparse, a William Fludde is recorded in a warrant written from Edward, Earl of Lincoln and Lord High Admiral, to Sir George Cary, captain of the Isle of Wight. In the warrant, Sir George Carey is commanded to restore a ship called the *Unicorn*, recently captured by a William Fludde to its rightful captain, a Frenchmen of Auraye.³⁵³ Included in the warrant is an inventory dated September 1584 that places the incident within months of Meirman’s own capture.³⁵⁴ Arguably, this is

³⁴⁹ In 1266, Henry III granted the Lubeck and Hamburg Hansa a charter for operations in England. Phillipe Dollinger, *The German Hansa* (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1999), 39.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Deposition of Nicholas Mierman, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/25/ ff 190v-6.

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Entry 779. Francis William Fitzhardinge Berkeley Baron Fitzhardinge, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Muniments in the Possession of Lord Fitzhardinge at Berkeley Castle*, ed. Isaac Herbert Jeayes, (Bristol: C.T. Jefferies & Sons, 1892), 278.

³⁵⁴ ‘Warrant... to restore to her owner, Thomas Portauquen, of Auraye, in France, a vessel called The *Unicorn*, which had been captured by William Fludde, Charles Jones, and others, well-known pirates, and recaptured by her Majesty’s fleet.’ Fitzhardinge, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters*, 278.

the same Fludde who Mierman encountered near the Island of Wight. The 1584 warrant refers to William Fludde as a ‘well-known’ pirate among other offenders mentioned. However, evidence of Fludde’s activity would suggest that while he was a familiar pirate in the area, he remained a ‘fairly free’ pirate plying his trade on ships of various nations under the guise of political right. According to Mierman’s deposition, Edgemont departed after two days for Flanders while Fludde remained in his haunting grounds around the island of Wight.

A portion of Fludde’s crew departed with the *Michael Archangel* and her crew and, following Captain Roche, they sailed to Ireland. Mierman’s deposition states that on or around 16 November 1584, ‘they arrived at Kinsale with... 15 other men still aboard. There certain of the ship’s lading was sold, vizt. 107 lasts of wheat, 18 pieces of the best beaten copper, 2 vats of copperas, cables and ropes, a sack of towe and ½ vat of glue.’³⁵⁵ Immediately upon arrival at Kinsale the hulk attracted merchants of all social strata. Mierman recounts several occasions that Michael Planney, a servant of President Sir John Norris, had come aboard the *Michael Archangel*.³⁵⁶ The first time Planney boarded, the pirates realised that he spoke a little Dutch and forced Mierman and the other crewmates under the hatches so that they would not be able to speak with him.³⁵⁷ The pirates took precautions against being found out as the deposition describes that the crew of the *Michael Archangel* was forced below decks not only when Planney was aboard but also whenever any Irishman boarded.

Similar situations are recorded in the Calendar of State Papers. In a correspondence between Ambrose Forth and the Lord High Admiral Howard, Forth describes how a Bristol pirate by the name of Edmund Wycombe kept the crew of a French prize he seized ‘under hatches’. Forth lists by name a number of merchants from Dublin ‘who being privy to the

³⁵⁵ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/25/ ff 190v-6.

³⁵⁶ Norris was appointed president of the province of Munster in July 1584. He urged the plantation of the area with English settlers, during this time many soldiers deserted Norris for the Low Countries. Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 83.

³⁵⁷ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/25/ ff 190v-6.

fact' that the ship was pirated and knew that Wycombe 'had the Frenchmen under hatches, notwithstanding bought the lading of salt off the pirates.'³⁵⁸ Based on this comparable case it is reasonable to surmise that Planney also knew that the crew of the *Michael Archangel* was held captive on board, especially since Planney continuously frequented the hulk, with a total of seven to nine visits.³⁵⁹

Mierman described to the court that upon each of these visits 20 to 30 hogsheads of wheat were bought by the president's secretary.³⁶⁰ Trade of illegal cargoes often proved to be a lucrative business for both pirate and purchasing merchant, but the transactions between the Fludde-Roche pirates and the officials of Kinsale soon changed drastically. On the morning of 3 December, Sir John Norris's brother Edward, Captain Price, and Captain Marre boarded the ship with a dozen men to speak with the pirates. Talking quickly degraded to flared tempers and drawn swords and the pirates were swiftly overtaken, three being injured and one killed. By the afternoon of the same day 30 more soldiers boarded the hulk with captain Marre acting as chief governor over them.³⁶¹

Two of the pirates by the names of Gilbert and John Gullett were taken to the president. Mierman states that he overheard Planney speak of £100 in 'ready money' that had been taken off the pirates, money that had been gained by the sale of the wheat and other wares out of the hulk. Mierman's apprehension and fears were not put to rest with the displacement of the pirates. Despite Captain Marre 'comforting' the *Michael Archangel's* crew by stating that 'All was done for the advantage of the ship and the merchants', the

³⁵⁸ 25 February 1587. *CSPI, 1586-1588*, 24.

³⁵⁹ Deposition of Albert Drier, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/25/ ff 196-6v.

³⁶⁰ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/25/ ff 190v-6.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

captain's actions did not accord with his words.³⁶² The deposition states that after his assurances to the crew, Marre

took an inventory of certain great parcels of the ship's furniture, and some of the furniture not used he granted to the pirates, especially to one of them called John Tayler, together with 2 kettles, iron nails and what they like. Moreover, captain Marre gave six of the pirates money and a passport to go to Cork to the president, to get another passport to travel from thence to England. The said Marre also often gave money to sundry of the pirates, to the great grief of this examinee seeing them so favourably dealt with.³⁶³

The crew's strife was further compounded by President Norris's command to have a bark full of wheat to be taken from the *Michael Archangel* during her journey to Cork, for provision of the country and maintenance of the soldiers there. Upon these outrages Mierman and the crew 'demanded if they would keep the ship and goods from them and desired that the pirates might be turned out of the hulk³⁶⁴, and not suffered to eat up the ship's victuals.' However, their demands fell on deaf ears as Marre had no consideration for the crews' request. According to Mierman, another bark was laden with wheat out of the hulk, a part thereof was carried to Waterford, Cork and 'some other places.' Further cargo was sold by the hogshead for 13s4d. and some for 16s.³⁶⁵

Three weeks from the date that the pirates were 'ejected' from the *Michael Archangel* President John Norris came aboard to view the cargo and ship. Mierman informed Norris that the hulk, all the remaining cargoes within her and any that had already been sold belonged to

³⁶² Ibid.

³⁶³ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/25/ ff 196v-6; PRO H.C.A. MS 13/25/ ff 190v-6

³⁶⁴ A Hulk is a vessel which is still afloat, however incapable of being used at sea.

³⁶⁵ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/25/ ff 190v-6.

them and ‘by the loss thereof they were utterly undone.’³⁶⁶ Norris, through the use of a translator, assured Mierman and his fellow mariners that the ship would continue to Cork and that he would make note ‘of the wheat and he would see them honestly paid for it’. He added that he had written to the merchants of the Steelyard in London about the ship and looked for an answer from them daily.³⁶⁷

Though it appears that there was a long animosity between the English and the Hansa Steelyard, Elizabeth I was still aware of keeping a good standing trade and at times personally intervened to see that injustices were corrected as exemplified in a royal letter of December 1558 to the Lord Deputy Sussex. This letter to Thomas Radclyffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex, commanded him to ‘inquire in the ports of Ireland for a ship of Hamburg which had been taken and carried thither by certain English, to examine and punish the English and [to] restore the ship and goods.’³⁶⁸ It was unfortunate for Mierman that the monarch did not intervene on his behalf as well.

Through the lack of extant correspondence from Sir John Norris to the Steelyard it is impossible to prove that he was being truthful to the poor merchants subject to his care. The lack of action taken by the Steelyard may suggest, however, that Norris was lying. A second theory for the lack of aid from the yard may be that it was struggling with more local conflicts, as mentioned above. These altercations on the door step may have outweighed the conflict in Ireland. Nevertheless, Sir John Norris had a vested interest in keeping the

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ The Steelyard in London was not just any ship yard, but acted as the heart of Hamburg in England. Established in 1475, the Steelyard was located on the north bank of the Thames.³⁶⁷ Like other Hansa stations, the Steelyard was a separate walled community, comprised of its own warehouses along the river, weighing house, counting houses, residential quarters and church. The Hanse’s power expanded in the late fifteenth century as German merchants expanded their premises and extended their practices into England’s cloth-making industry. This led to a series of confrontations over the Hanseatic privileges in England which often ended in violence.³⁶⁷ The direct competition with the merchants of the City of London and the prosperity of the Steelyard merchants saw the rights of the Hanse initially revoked in 1551 and, eventually, Queen Elizabeth rescind its privileges and expelled the Steelyard in 1598.³⁶⁷ The Steelyard was largely overtaken by the Queen for her navy and eventually demolished in 1865.

³⁶⁸ 3 December 1558. *CSPI, 1586-1588*, 151.

Steelyard ignorant of Mierman's plight. This inaction would fit better with Norris's other actions regarding the *Michael Archangel* and her crew.

Sir John Norris did not follow through on his promises and nothing was obtained for the crew; neither was the hulk brought to Cork. Furthermore, adding insult to injury, the pirates were kept aboard the ship, 'upon the cost and victuals of the same' for a period of six weeks. Captain Roche remained at his leisure in the harbour at Kinsale and was 'suffered to lade 190 hogsheads of wheat out of the hulk, with which he went to sea' three days thereafter under the cover of night. Mierman's deposition describes that nearly on a daily basis Norris's men removed not only the wheat from the ship but 'copper cables, ropes and other things.'³⁶⁹ It was not until 13 January 1585 that the *Michael Archangel* finally arrived in Kinsale.

While the soldiers that had been aboard the ship were discharged on 14 January, the pirates departed for a different pirate ship already in the harbour making sail.³⁷⁰ Captain Marre conducted two crewmates of Mierman's to Cork on January 22nd, where the men again pleaded with President Norris to bring the *Michael Archangel* to Cork and to pay for the wheat that had been taken from the hulk. Likewise, they requested that the crew be provided passage to England with 'a passport for their safe conduct'.³⁷¹ President Norris responded to the men three days after their initial plea. They were granted passage to England, provided for at the expense of the president himself, but no answer was given with regards to the payment for the wheat. Dejected the men re-joined the rest of the crew in Kinsale and related the news.

The crew then turned to Michael Planney with the same grievances and they were offered the same as Norris. Planney promised passage, passport and 'some money' to the men

³⁶⁹ Deposition of Nicholas Mierman, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/25/ ff 190v-6.

³⁷⁰ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/25/ ff 190v-6.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

to see them to England, but he did not offer payment for the loss of their wheat and corn. Mierman's deposition states that, 'he [Planney] procured a passport for this examinee and 15 more of his company, and gave each of them 16s. 8d., and got them into two ships to pass for England, in which they left Kinsale on 26 January last.'³⁷² Before the crew departed, they were subjected to the pillaging of *Michael Archangel* by officials, merchants and pirates.³⁷³

Kinsale proved to Mierman to be a haven for pirates during his visit as he concludes his deposition to the court with a description of a pirate that entered Kinsale on his departure. The pirate 'came into the haven with a French ship, and the pirates shifted themselves into the said French ship and went to sea therewith.' Once again adding insult to injury, Mierman states, 'And the talk went that the same ship should take in the rest of the wheat out of the hulk, and therewith sail to the north of England to maintain the soldiers there with the same.'³⁷⁴ Initially this High Court case presents an official involved perhaps not in the physical attack on the *Michael Archangel*, but in aiding of the pirates. However, this involvement is just the tip of the iceberg regarding deeper political relations and motives.

The names of those involved with the piratical acts against the *Michael Archangel* indicate that this was not a singular event. The pirate captain Fludde seems to have been a regular presence in the vicinity of the Isle of Wight, occasionally allying with other pirates. Although the Isle was heavily fortified due to Henry VIII's development of the Royal navy there, it remained vulnerable to piracy. The statement in the 1584 warrant that various pirates, including Fludde, were 'well known' suggests that seaborne depredation had been a continuous presence in the waters around the British Isles. The lack of conviction against the

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ On 24 January, the president's steward came aboard the hulk with a merchant of Yarmouth, who had a ship lying at Cork. The steward 'willed the merchant to survey the ship' and to take whatever he liked from it; 'he commanded Thomas Whitecoppe, one of the pirates, to cut a new cable from the anchor.' On 25 January, Mierman 'saw a chest of glue, a barrel of beans and a barrel of oatmeal, laden into a pinnace.' This was then carried to Cork. Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

pirates within the warrant may also suggest a level of tolerance or disparity, either accepting the piratical activity or accepting a level of defeat.

The name that the depredation was declared in is more important than the individuals committing the piratical acts. The *Michael Archangel* was taken in the name of Don António. Claiming a bounty in the name of a country or monarch was common practice, especially where Letters of Marque were carried and captains sailed under the label of privateer. In the case of the *Michael Archangel* and Mierman's deposition, there is no evidence that the pirates carried any such paperwork and although they may have claimed the *Michael Archangel* in the name of Don António, the proclamation did not possess the same value of other Marques, as Don António had been denied the throne of Portugal.³⁷⁵

Don António, Prior of Crato, was the grandson of King Manuel I of Portugal and claimant to the Portuguese throne. Arguably, he reigned as King of Portugal for a 33-day period during 1580.³⁷⁶ However, Philip II of Spain had secured the title of King of Portugal at the time when the *Michael Archangel* was taken.³⁷⁷ Therefore, the activities carried out in Don António's name were carried out under the name of a defunct king with no country.³⁷⁸

In 1589, a year after the Spanish Armada failed, Don António accompanied an English expedition under the command of Sir Francis Drake and 'Sir John Norrey's' (Norris) to the coast of Spain and Portugal. The Calendar of State Papers for Spain (Simancas) records that 'the 18th ultimo [18 September] Don António embarked with Drake at Plymouth, and set

³⁷⁵ Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag*, 151, 167.

³⁷⁶ On 19 July 1580, António was proclaimed King of Portugal in Santarém. This was followed by popular acclamation in several locations of the country. Don António, however, only governed within Continental Portugal for a period of 20 days. He was defeated on 25 August 1580 in the battle of Alcântara by the Spanish Habsburg armies.

³⁷⁷ While Don António had been popular with the lower echelons of Portuguese society, Philip II had won over the nobility with promises of wealth from the Americas. David Hilliam, *Philip II: King of Spain and Leader of the Counter-Reformation* (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, Inc., 2005), 73-75.

³⁷⁸ Immediately following his expulsion, Don António attempted to continue his rule of Portugal from Terceira Island within the Azores. Don António's opposition government lasted until 1583. António fled from refuge to refuge through fear of assassins, employed by Philip II, until he arrived in England where he found favour with Queen Elizabeth I. Appleby *Under the Bloody Flag*, 194.

sail with 35 good ships and 7,000 or 8,000 men with the object of effecting a landing in Portugal.’³⁷⁹ This expedition was comprised partly of the Queen’s ships, and in part by privateers that had joined the venture in hopes of great bounty gains. A letter within the State Papers of Spain between Bernardino De Mendoza and the King states, ‘the number of ships and men, which, it was said, Drake and Don António had, the Queen could not have provided more than seven or eight ships, as the rest of her vessels could not be spared away from the English coast.’³⁸⁰ António’s hopes that his presence in Portugal would strike an uprising against Philip II failed and the expedition was a costly fiasco.

The case of the *Michael Archangel* ties in with the political considerations influencing piracy as discussed in the previous chapter. However, the case is more revealing of ‘Official’ involvement in piracy. Fludde and Egemonte may have claimed to take the *Michael Archangel* in the name of Don António, but this can fall under the previously discussed ‘privateers in error’. The second seizing of the *Archangel* by Ireland’s royally appointed president Sir John Norris is just as severe a depredation as that originally committed by Fludde and Egemonte.

The second capture and overthrow of Fludde’s crew was a premeditated action. The President’s servant, Michael Planney, not only surveyed the ship, he purchased stolen cargo on multiple occasions before Price, the President’s brother, and Captain Marre turned their swords upon the pirates. The deposition states that in the aftermath of the overthrow a chest was recovered from the pirates with £100 in it.³⁸¹ It is safe to assume that the money spent by Planney purchasing cargo was recovered. Despite promises of comfort and aid, the original pirated crew of the *Michael Archangel* were forced to watch helplessly as the family and

³⁷⁹ Martin A. S. Hume, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas) 1580-1586* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1896), 547.

³⁸⁰ 1 October 1585. *CSPS, 1580-1596*, 548.

³⁸¹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/25/ ff 190v-6.

servants of the President of Ireland helped themselves to the cargo of the pirated ship in their care. This case shows a blatant disregard for the merchants and crew of the *Michael Archangel* in favour of self-profit by government officials, by using – and abusing – their stations.

The case of the *Michael Archangel* illustrates the gamble pirates took when dealing with people in positions of power. Though the Fludde-Roche pirates were at first civilly received by the President of Ireland, they soon found themselves restricted and providing goods without being paid. Perhaps they agreed that their continued freedom was payment enough in the end. The crew of the prize ship, however, was left without aid until all the transactions between the pirates and the officials had ended. The amount of pirate activity in Cork as related by Mierman seems to exemplify claims that Ireland was a pirate's playground.

Deposition of Giles Wiggers and the Bishop

The perpetrator of piratical acts in the case of Giles Wiggers comes from an unexpected position of power. The Deposition of Giles Wiggers could easily be summed up as mutiny, deception and a bishop most foul. The case was recorded 10 February 1576. In the examination, Giles Wiggers, a mariner by vocation from Antwerp, provides a tale of daring, misery and woe similar to earlier cases but with a singular unexpected twist: this piracy has a priest.³⁸² Giles Wiggers was 34 at the time of his testimony to the High Court.³⁸³

Wiggers' story begins in June of 1575. Elizabeth I's ambivalent attitude towards Spain and foreign politics had left relations with the King of Spain tumultuous. However, in

³⁸² Deposition of Giles Wiggers, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/22/ f 40v-42.

³⁸³ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/22/ f 40v-42.

March of 1575 Spain had opened the port of Antwerp to English traders in return for the Queen's agreement to end aid to Dutch rebels against Spanish rule.³⁸⁴ The Dutch had not only been plaguing Spain but had remained a constant threat to Portugal, England's other ally. Within years, however, the autonomous state of Portugal would find its crown joined with Spain after the succession crisis of 1580.³⁸⁵ It is from the *de facto* capital of Portugal, Lisbon, that Wiggers set sail. Lisbon was the largest European city along the Atlantic coast. The sixteenth century was Lisbon's golden era: the city was the European hub of commerce between Africa, India, and the Far East.³⁸⁶ It later added Brazil to the list and acquired great riches by exploiting the trade in spices, slaves, sugar, textiles, and other goods.³⁸⁷

The plan for the trading voyage Wiggers had enlisted with should have ended in a successful trade with Calais or Dunkirk. Having set sail from Lisbon laden with a cargo of sugar and spices, his ship passed through the Bay of Biscay. The Bay was considered wearisome to sailors due to square riggers being unable to make way to windward and often ships would be driven into the Bay by the prevailing 'westerlies'.³⁸⁸ Wiggers sailed in early summer when the weather was clear and winds favoured the merchant ships.³⁸⁹ With favourable weather, it remains unclear as to why the vessel decided to make berth in Portland Bay off Dorset. This fateful choice would be the turning point in his journey. In Portland Bay, while the master of the ship along with most of the company 'were at their rest, eight of

³⁸⁴ Alan and Veronica Palmer, ed., *The Chronology of British History* (London: Century Ltd., 1992), 156–9.

³⁸⁵ James M. Anderson, *The History of Portugal*, (London: Greenwood Press, 2000), 99.

³⁸⁶ Paul Freedman, *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 164–5.

³⁸⁷ Freedman, *Out of the East*, 99–104.

³⁸⁸ Square Rig is a style of sail and rigging used by sail-dependent vessels. The square rig is aerodynamically the most efficient running rig, sailing tailwind, and remained one of the most popular sail styles until the end of the Age of Sail. Styles of ships that employed the use of square rigging include: barques, brigs, schooners, brigantines and fully rigged vessels. Lateen sails were also in use in at the same time though their use had only started in the 1500's. Alan Villiers, *Square-Rigged Ships: An Introduction* (London: National Maritime Museum, 2009), 13–17.

³⁸⁹ Generally, a summer season lasts about 6 months, from May to October, and the average annual temperature of the sea is 17.5 °C (63.5 °F). *World Maps of Köppen-Geiger Climate Classification*. Accessed November 24, 2013, <http://koeppen-geiger.vu-wien.ac.at>.

the company fell upon them, killing six.³⁹⁰ Wiggers related to the Court in his deposition that he was coerced to surrender to the mutineers and was ‘forced to bring the ship to Ireland into the bay of Rosscarberry.’³⁹¹

Wiggers navigated the ship near the bay and then shot off a ‘piece of ordnance’ in order to attract a pilot who could bring the ship to safe harbour. This may suggest that Wiggers was not personally familiar with Rosscarberry. However, it was not uncommon for vessels to hire a native pilot to guide a ship through possibly dangerous or congested waters, familiarity withstanding or not.³⁹² The use of pilots is noted in various correspondences throughout the sixteenth century. For example, in a letter dated 21 June 1595 a Mr. John Talbot writes to Sir Robert Cecil, the 1st Earl of Salisbury, of pirates and pilots. He notes,

The traitors are grown strong and bold through too long sufferance. There hath been two barques not long since taken, as it is thought by some Spanish pirate that hath been on the coast betwixt this and Ireland, the one of Liverpool the other of Drogheda, a town of the sea coast 20 miles from Dublin. It may be doubted that the Spaniards should have some intent to be busy on that coast, and that they should send before to get pilots and intelligence, but I hope there will be watch on the sea to prevent the worst. It is too well known that our northern traitors have been long practising that way...’³⁹³

In response to Wiggers’s advertising shot, two boats came alongside to offer their services as pilots for the vessel. Wiggers’s deposition states that the ‘bishop of Ross, Cornelius Brenner’ was in one of the boats.³⁹⁴ The two men parlayed and eventually agreed upon the price of

³⁹⁰ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/22/ f 40v-42.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Harry Hignett, *21 centuries of Marine Pilotage: The History of United Kingdom Maritime Pilots Association* (London: UK Maritime Pilots Asc., 2012), Chapter 1.

³⁹³ 21 June 1595. *CSPI, 1592-1596*. 331.

³⁹⁴ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/22/ f 40v-42.

‘30dc’ (ducats) to bring the vessel into a good harbour; upon this bargain the fishermen who accompanied the bishop conducted Wiggers’s ship into Glandore haven, in west Cork. Upon safe arrival Wiggers negotiated further with the Brenner with the aim of substituting 60lbs of spices from the hold, in the form of 20lbs each of pepper, nutmeg and cinnamon, in lieu of the initially agreed 30 ducat charge. The Bishop found this suitable and the transaction was completed.³⁹⁵

Evidence from this portion of Wiggers’s testimony suggests that he was acting as master of the merchant vessel at this stage of the journey, forcibly or otherwise. The master of a ship has full responsibility for safe navigation of a vessel, even if a pilot is on board. It is up to the master to negotiate the fare for a pilot’s aid and if he has clear grounds that the pilot may jeopardise the safety of navigation, he can relieve him from his duties. Returning to Wiggers’s testimony, he claimed to take the opportunity of private discourse over price and payment to inform the bishop of Ross of the mutiny on board the vessel. He requested aid from the bishop to dispossess the murderers of the vessel and expressed his desire to be ‘conducted to Kinsale, Waterford, Cork or some other place of justice.’³⁹⁶

To Wiggers’s relief the bishop ‘promised him great friendship’, taking Wiggers into what he believed would be a safe sanctuary. Wiggers’s relief was short lived as he soon found himself a captive again; this time not by fellow shipmates with mutinous predispositions but by the bishop in whom he had sought refuge. Wiggers bluntly stated that he was closely detained for four days and was only released upon agreeing to give the bishop 732lbs more spice, that is 200lb. each of nutmeg, cinnamon, and pepper, and a further 132lbs of cloves.³⁹⁷ Wiggers somehow procured the spices, though he does not mention by what means or authority in his own statement. When the bishop received the goods, Wiggers was

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

released as promised. In the meantime, the ship he had arrived in with the mutineers was preparing to leave Glandore haven.³⁹⁸ It is unknown if the murderous crew sold any of their ill-gotten cargo while in port. Wiggers's narrative suggests that when the crew sailed they still retained a large quantity of spice on board. They are likely to have planned to trade the stolen goods with any merchant who would be willing to turn a blind eye to the origin of the cargo.

Wiggers, 'fearing to return aboard in case he should be misused or slain', left the ship to depart from the haven without him.³⁹⁹ His luck seems to have changed for the better at this point, for shortly after the departure Wiggers met with Giles Clencher. This is the same Clencher mentioned in the deposition of John Brodeway regarding the case of the vessel *Peter and Paul*. Wiggers travelled with Clencher first to Kinsale and then onwards to Cork. In his deposition, he stated that he had hoped to catch sight of the ship at these ports. However, each port left Wiggers disappointed as he came to the realization that, in his own words, 'the unskilful murderers went to sea with her'.⁴⁰⁰ The ship, as it would later be revealed, was found cast away on the coast of Cornwall. It would seem then that Wiggers's assessment of his fellow crewmate's abilities was correct. Wiggers ends his statement, 'That this exanimate, coming from Ireland to Devon this last month of January heard that a ship laden with spices was cast away at Padstow.' Having followed hearsay to Padstow, he claims he found various pieces of the ship ashore.⁴⁰¹

Gilles Wiggers's experience was remarkable in comprising mutiny, violence and theft, but also with regards to the involvement of a corrupt pontiff. What did this 'man of God' need such extravagant amounts of spices for? And why did he treat his fellow man in

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

need so abysmally? The answer lies in the value of the cargo. ‘No economic historian of late-medieval Europe can ignore the importance of the spice trades’, Professor John Munro has emphasised and adds that ‘From the 12th to the 17th centuries, Oriental spices constituted the most profitable and dynamic element in European trade.’⁴⁰² The most important was pepper, which was always shipped as a large bulk commodity. It was followed closely by cinnamon, ginger and cloves, the very spices that Wiggers’s ship had been employed to trade with and transport. Wiggers’s port of departure, as mentioned, was at the heights of its fortunes through exploiting trade in slaves, textiles and especially exotic spices.⁴⁰³

With the establishment of a direct sea route to Europe from the beginning of the sixteenth century, spice travelled a great distance of over 6,000 miles round the Cape of South Africa to reach markets around the channel. Immense distances involved in transporting the various seasonings provide some explanation as to why spice was priced so high in western Europe.⁴⁰⁴ Spice prices often ranged from 10 to a 100 times higher than what merchant traders paid for it at the source in the East Indies.

Supply, high distribution costs and monopoly explain only half of the story, demand preoccupies the other. Munro argues that ‘spices represented the cream of the luxury trades; a

⁴⁰² John H. Munro, University of Toronto: Lecture notes. *The Consumptions of Spices and Their Costs in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Europe: Luxuries or Necessities?* 12 October 1983.

⁴⁰³ The Portuguese cornered the lucrative trade in eastern spices during the sixteenth century. Portugal established a sea route around the Cape, and undercut the Venetian trade. Early Portuguese explorers up the east African coast provided Portugal with bases in Mozambique and Zanzibar. The fortification of Hormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf helped to extend a secure route eastwards to Goa and Malacca. The island of Bombay is ceded to the Portuguese in 1534. The early Portuguese presence in Sri Lanka steadily increases during the century and, in 1557, Portuguese merchants establish a colony on the island of Macao. With a chain of fortified ports of call, and with no vessels in the Indian Ocean capable of challenging her sea power, Portugal managed a monopoly of the eastern spice trade throughout the century; this would later change as the Dutch grew in influence through the East India Trading Company. Freedman, *Out of the East*, 115, 164-5, 188, 193-205.

⁴⁰⁴ Therefore, neither production nor pure transportation costs explain such prices on the supply side. What economists now call transaction costs are all the exchange costs involved in getting goods from producers to consumers must also be taken into consideration. These include information costs, market search and negotiation costs, and above all protection (and insurance) costs. With consideration of the large number of intermediaries involved in the long-distance spice trade, and all the assorted taxes and tolls levied on the spice trade from the East Indies to western Europe, one can appreciate how these costs would multiply.

luxury good, especially whose high price made it generally available only to the rich.’⁴⁰⁵ The spices were valued firstly for the same reason they are used today. Indian, Oriental or Middle Eastern cooking are fragrant dishes often described as exciting and exotic in comparison to traditional English and Irish fare. This, however, remains a ‘matter of taste’ or an opinion and therefore it must also be considered that spices fulfilled a social function in that they constituted a social fashion or prestige. Spice was thus equated with wealth, high social status and conspicuous consumption. Finally, the belief that spices served valuable medicinal functions made these ingredients highly coveted.⁴⁰⁶

The value of Wiggers’s cargo may explain the mutineers’ piratical actions against their unsuspecting crewmates, but also those of the bishop of Rosscarberry, the servant of God who caved into temptation. The question that has remained unaddressed to this point is: Was bishop Brenner, or O’Brennan as he is noted in State Papers, really an ‘official’ man of the Church? The bishop’s spiritual soundness is not in consideration here, just his status in regards to the organized church. Was O’Brennan Catholic or was he Protestant? Without delving too deeply into a Reformation that has been described as ‘complicated and tortuous’⁴⁰⁷ this survey shall endeavour to illuminate bishop O’Brennan’s place in Cork’s religious history, considering that he has now already secured his place in piratical history.

During the time Wiggers found himself under house arrest in a bishop’s residence, it can be confidently stated that he had not come across Ross’s Catholic Bishop. The appointed Catholic bishop serving Ross in 1575 was Thomas O’Herlahy.⁴⁰⁸ O’Herlahy was consecrated around 1560 and attended the Council of Trent. After a brief stint in the Tower of London for

⁴⁰⁵ Munro, *The Consumptions of Spices*.

⁴⁰⁶ Various spices were reputed to serve as digestives, stimulants, cures for halitosis, fevers, headaches, colic; and as ‘carminatives,’ i.e. cure for flatulence. Freedman, *Out of the East*, 69.

⁴⁰⁷ Comhairle Cathrach Chorcaí, accessed November 27, 2013, <http://www.corkcity.ie/aboutcork/historyofcork/reformation/>.

⁴⁰⁸ Charles G. Herbert, ed., *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume 8: Infamy-Lapparent* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1950), 166.

his religious zealotry he moved back to Ireland to continue an austere lifestyle on a small farm.⁴⁰⁹ He made regular annual visits to his diocese; he officiated at great festivals and occasionally preached in a neighbouring church. O’Herlahy, it appears, lived a life expected of a man of his position. The Catholic bishop was not the buccaneer bishop either in name or action. Sequential logical deduction might suggest, then, that Cornelius O’Brennan was an appointed Protestant bishop. However, there is a notable absence of an appointed Protestant bishop for Ross in the period from 1559 to 1582, at which point Elizabeth I appointed an Anglican prelate, William Lyon. In 1584, Lyon oversaw the Sees of Cork and Cloyne combined with Ross.⁴¹⁰

If O’Brennan was a ‘bishop’ he must have been an unofficial cleric. In William Maziere Brady’s *State Papers Concerning The Irish Church* O’Brennan makes his first appearance in a report from Sir Henry Sydney which is dated to January 1576. The entry simply identifies O’Brennan as the ‘bishop *elect* of Roscarbery’ and there is no further discourse regarding either O’Brennan or the position at this time.⁴¹¹ Within the Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, in an entry dated June of 1576, O’Brennan is recommended to his position, though no mention is made of an official appointment. A letter written to Sir William Walsingham from the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Sydney, states ‘Cornelius O’ Breinon to be preferred to the bishoprick of Roscarery. [Ross in Carbery in the county of Cork.]’⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Entry for 1583. William Maziere Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross* (London: Longman & Green, 1864), 49.

⁴¹¹ Emphasis added by author. William Maziere Brady, *State Papers Concerning the Irish Church* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1868), 13.

⁴¹² 13 June 1576. *CSPI, 1574-1585*, 96.

The *State Papers Concerning the Irish Church* provide a later collection of extracts between a Commissioner Garvey and the Archbishop Loftus. These extracts, dated 1578, shed the most light on the enigmatic O'Brennan:

That all such as bear the name of bishops in Ireland, live not in that order and degree of dependency of her Majesty's authority and law... and for as much as some men do without Letters Patent intrude themselves into bishoprics in that land, as Cornelius O'Brenan, a Layman, did into the bishopric of Ross Carbury in the county of Cork.⁴¹³

In context of these entries the life of O'Brennan and his position in Rosscarberry become much clearer. O'Brennan appears to have been a gentleman of opportunity by stepping forward to fulfil a religious position that had been left vacant. He is clearly labelled a 'Layman' by Commissioner Garvey. O'Brennan may have been Protestant as he seems to have been supported by the Lord Deputy acting in Ireland on the behalf of the Queen. However, as the accusation that O'Brennan was a 'layman' implies, he had no ecclesiastical background.

It can furthermore be assumed that O'Brennan had some community support in his position as self-proclaimed bishop. Various other depositions and State Papers, as noted, have highlighted County Cork as an active area for piracy. Evidence suggests that the community was tolerant towards crimes of this nature. In addition, as Michael Whitman has pointed out, 'bishops in Cork needed local lay support to function. Without it, they tended to fail to take control of the manse, let alone begin a ministry.'⁴¹⁴ Wiggers's deposition indicates that O'Brennan was working with at least two local fishermen and their crews, that he had his own residence and the sway to hold a prisoner, namely the

⁴¹³ Brady, *State Papers*, 30.

⁴¹⁴ Michael Whitman, 'The clergy of Cork, Cloyne and Ross during the Tudor reformations' (PhD diss., University of Liverpool, 2015), 132-5.

unfortunate Wiggers.⁴¹⁵ There is still much that is unanswered about this case. A lack of documentation suggests that Wiggers was even more of a ‘common laymen’ than O’Brennan, as his name is not found outside of his deposition for the High Court of Admiralty.

Giles Wiggers’s deposition is the first of the chosen cases evaluated in this study to address mutiny. Much of maritime law was based on the ‘laws of Oléron’.⁴¹⁶ This law was a codification of decisions made in the maritime courts on the island of Oléron, off the western coast of France near La Rochelle. The Laws of Oléron were codified and introduced to England in the late twelfth century by Richard I. The Law was accepted in England partly because common law could not accommodate the unique issues that arose in maritime cases. The Laws of Oléron declared:

I. Whosoever shall kill any man a shipboard, shall be bound to the back of the party killed and thrown into the sea with him. II. If one should be killed on land, the party should be bound in like manner and buried alive with him killed. III. Whosoever shall draw any knife or weapon with intent to draw blood, or by other means shall draw blood, shall lose a hand. IV. Whosoever shall strike one, without drawing blood, with his hand or otherwise, shall be ducked three times at the yard-arm. V. whosoever reviles or curser another, for so often as he hath reviled shall pay so many ounces of silver. VI. Whosoever steals shall have his head shorn and boiled pitch poured on it, and feathers strewed upon the same whereby he may be known, and at the first landing place where he shall come, there to be towed ashore.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁵ Wigger’s testimony states that he was held captive in O’Brennan’s residence. Though not explicitly recorded it is likely that this building was the manse of the bishop, therefore ‘O’Brennan held custody of influence and property he could not have held without the acceptance of the laity.’ Ibid., 134.

⁴¹⁶ See Timothy J. Runyan, ‘The Rolls of Oleron and the Admiralty Court in Fourteenth Century England,’ *The American Journal of Legal History* 19, no. 2 (April 1975), 96, 98-100 and Francis M. Burdick, ‘What is the Law Merchant?’, *Columbia Law Review* 2, no. 7 (November 1902), 478.

⁴¹⁷ Monson, *Naval Tracts* Vol. IV, 130-1.

As it was the Laws of Oléron that provided the basis for the regulations of both fleets and for individual vessels during this period, the whole of the maritime community had a common disciplinary tradition to draw upon.⁴¹⁸ However, if a number of crewmen decided to ignore their commanders or masters, there could be little means of enforcement by those in charge. In this regard captains, masters and authority figures were more vulnerable at sea than those on land. This was true for all sailing crews on merchant and navy voyages.

For example, the crew of the navy vessel the *Golden Lion* deserted their campaign in 1587, holding complaints of unacceptable conditions against their captain. The crew identified themselves as ‘Quenes [sic] men’ despite their actions of deserting their posts.⁴¹⁹ The mutineers in the case of Giles Wiggers were clearly motivated by other ambitions. It was not unacceptable conditions that motivated their seaborne depredation, but the cold gleam of silver. The same can be said of Bishop O’Brennan’s role in the piracy. Though O’Brennan is chronicled as ‘unofficial’ bishop, the reality was that he was living and acting as the official bishop of Ross at the time Wiggers was sailing. This social acceptance of piratical behaviour of those in positions of religious power, officially appointed or otherwise, illustrates the tolerance of piracy in the south of Ireland which laid the foundations for later plantation piracy as focused on in the seventeenth century.

The Deposition of Peter Duperry and the *James*

In some cases it is hard to know who the pirate really is. The deposition of Peter Duperry and the *James* provides an example of this difficulty. In 1567, Peter Duperry of Bordeaux was the victim of a robbery. His cargo of wine from Bordeaux was taken by three men: Davy

⁴¹⁸ Monson, *Naval Tracts* Vol. IV, 194-201; PRO H.C.A. MS 14/34/ f 75. See also Runyan, ‘The Rolls of Oleron,’ 98.

⁴¹⁹ The *Golden Lion* is the sole recorded court martial for mutiny in the later Elizabethan navy. Oppenheim, *The Administration of the Royal Navy*, 384.

Goldinge, Christopher Skiddy and John Barry who were sailing under orders of Richard Mewghe.⁴²⁰ The three men had freighted a 120-ton ship at the rate of 26s. 8d. per ton in Kinsale to sail for Bordeaux, southwest France in order to purchase wine.⁴²¹ Near Christmas 1566, William Coppinger arrived at La Rochelle from Youghal.⁴²² While in La Rochelle he saw Richard Mewghe (or Myaghe) with a ship out of Ireland called the *James* of Desmond. The ship was transporting hides, herrings and mantles, which were sold in La Rochelle for ‘ready money’.⁴²³ Coppinger, in conversation with Mewghe, was told that Mewghe had plans to sail to Bordeaux to ‘lade wines, which he accordingly did.’⁴²⁴ In Bordeaux, the Irish ship was loaded with wines and another French ship was hired at the same time. However, before either ship was able to sail both were arrested and kept in port.⁴²⁵

Duperry’s brother acted on his behalf to apprehend the three men while they were in Bordeaux. He demanded justice from Kinsale for the loss of the wine that he stated ‘47 tuns of wine were worth £120, and not above, at Bordeaux. And 60 tuns of wine were worth £160 and not above.’⁴²⁶ How long the men were held as prisoners is questionable as evidenced by letters sent to John Morrys of Youghal from Skiddy, and by the deposition of Goldinge. The first states that the three men were kept in prison for thirty-three months ‘by a Frenchman’, and the latter testifies that he ‘was imprisoned at Bordeaux for twenty months by a sentence

⁴²⁰ Deposition of Peter Duperry, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff269-70.

⁴²¹ Deposition of John Morrys, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff285-6v.

⁴²² There is little documentation regarding William Coppinger. However, a William Coppinger of Cork is recorded in a Calendar of events recorded for Cork. The entry dated 1526 states that, ‘William Coppinger, of Cork, in 1526, collected and translated Registrum Chartarum Cænobii Saint Thomas Martyris Juxta Dublin cum notis &c.’ It is unknown if this is the same Coppinger as in the depositions above. If it is the same, it would suggest that Coppinger was highly educated. Charles Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork* (Dublin: W. Cater, Holborn, J. Robson, 1774), 422.

⁴²³ Deposition of William Coppinger, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff296-7.

⁴²⁴ 24 March 1570. PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff296-7. Bordeaux flourished from the international wine trade it developed. In the sixteenth century, Bordeaux was also known for its growing involvement in trade of sugar and slaves as well as wine. James Lawther, *The Finest Wines of Bordeaux: A Regional Guide to the Best Châteaux and Their Wines*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010), 10.

⁴²⁵ 27 April 1570. Deposition of Bartholomew le Bourden, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff 349v-50; 9 April 1570. Deposition of Thomas Seale, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff 303v-5. See also 12 April 1570. Deposition of German Bryan, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff 305v-6.

⁴²⁶ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff269-70.

of the court of the parlement there'.⁴²⁷ Goldinge's account corresponds with Duperry's account that his brother acted under lawful authority to detain the men.⁴²⁸

According to John Morrys, not long after the three men set forth to Bordeaux and were detained there, a ship sailed into Kinsale from Bordeaux with a reported cargo of 30 tuns of wine. Morrys states that these wines were emptied in front of him and despite 30 tuns of wine being reported for unloading only 21 tuns of wine came off the ship.⁴²⁹ The wines were then stowed in Kinsale in a cellar with express permission of Skiddy's brother, the master of the ship and the ship's company. An agreement was arranged that the goods would remain there until the 'dead freight of the ship was paid.'⁴³⁰ The agreement also stipulated that if the cargo was not 'satisfied' or sold within a month of the date of arrival then a portion of the wines was to be delivered to the master and company of the ship as partial payment at the 'price of £6 the tun.'⁴³¹ At that time, the wines were valued to be worth £12 the tun in Kinsale. A month's time passed and the dead freight remained unpaid. Therefore, the master of the ship and her company were delivered 6 tuns of wine and the 'residue was paid in ready money by John Browne of Kinsale on behalf of Skiddy and Mewghe, who were then prisoners in Bordeaux.'⁴³² Eventually, the dead freight was paid at the rate of 26s. per ton.

Duperry mentions in his original deposition that 'Goldinge, Skiddy and Barry did not spend more than £20, amongst them all, during their time spent at Bordeaux.'⁴³³ This statement does not elucidate if this is in conjunction with the possible purchase of wine or if

⁴²⁷ Deposition of David Goldinge, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff374-5; PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff285-6v.

⁴²⁸ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff269-70.

⁴²⁹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff285-6v.

⁴³⁰ Ibid. 'Dead freight' refers to when the charterer of a vessel has shipped part of the goods on board, and is not ready to ship the remainder. The master may take other goods on board, unless his contract states otherwise. The amount that is not supplied and is required to complete the cargo is called 'dead freight'. Dead freight is to be calculated according to the actual capacity of the vessel. Martin Dockray, *Cases & Materials on the Carriage of Goods by Sea*, 3rd ed. (London: Cavendish Publishing Ltd., 2004), 285-7.

⁴³¹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff 285-6v.

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff269-70.

it was in respects to the time that they were incarcerated there. If the assumption is made that this statement is included in Duperry's deposition to the Court of Admiralty to illustrate that the three Irishmen had not paid for what had been loaded onto their ship then it would be highly unlikely that the ship would have been allowed to return to Ireland, even with its investors imprisoned.

Using the information provided above in Duperry's deposition regarding prices for wine in Bordeaux, the cost of the wine that arrived in Ireland can be roughly figured at the value of £78.⁴³⁴ As the investors of the ship were already detained at the time she was allowed to sail back to Ireland, it can be assumed that either the cargo had been pilfered or gifted, as £20 would have only bought an estimated 7.5 tuns of wine. Keeping in mind that the deposition explicitly states that the men had travelled thence 'to *buy* wines', not trade commodities for it.⁴³⁵ A month after Duperry's original testimony, James Coursey provided new information regarding the case.

According to Coursey, 'the ship freighted by Goldinge and others belonged to the earl of Desmond.'⁴³⁶ Coursey confirmed that the ship was freighted from a servant of the Earl of Desmond's at the rate mentioned above. He further stated that the ship returned to Cork without the merchants who had been arrested in Bordeaux, and that aboard the ship was 29 tuns of wine, 'of which only 20 tuns were merchantable.'⁴³⁷ The difference from Coppinger's deposition is not extreme, but it does highlight the discrepancies that continually arise from oral testimonies. Coursey states that 'after their arrival at Cork the master and mariners of the ship arrested Skiddy's wines for the dead freight.'⁴³⁸ Upon this arrest, 'John Skiddy...

⁴³⁴ This figure is based upon figuring the cost for 100 tuns of wine at the value provided for the 47 tuns and 60 tuns of wine then using the mean value rounded to the nearest tenth to figure the cost of 30 tuns. See corresponding page 218 located in the appendix I.

⁴³⁵ Emphasis added by author. PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff285-6v.

⁴³⁶ 18 April 1570. Deposition of James Coursey: PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff 322v-5v.

⁴³⁷ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff 322v-5v.

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

appeared before the mayor of Cork and paid the sum of £80 to the master and mariners for the freight of 60 tuns of wines which should have been laden aboard the ship in Bordeaux.’ Later, it is discovered by Coursey that the wines ‘were sold in Cork at £12 per tun.’⁴³⁹

Had the transaction been completed according to Skiddy’s original plan at 60 tuns for £160 minus £80 for the ship and her company and followed by the resale of the remainder of the wine for £12 in Cork, the merchants would have been left with a handsome profit of £720. Bordeaux wines were clearly quite a considerable investment. However, as only 30 tuns were shipped from Bordeaux and of these only 20-21 tuns survived viably to Ireland, the financial gain was significantly reduced from £720 to £240.

In light of the absence of an extant written outcome for the case of the Bordeaux wines, it is impossible to determine what position the Earl of Desmond played in the proceedings. Although it is clear that someone made a financial gain from the sale of the wine, the person remains unknown. It is equally difficult to determine how it was possible for the ship to return to Ireland with a cargo of 30 tuns of wine, which may or may not have been paid for. Yet the most puzzling aspect of this particular case is, however, the imprisonment of the merchants by Dupery.

This set of depositions has been classified as a possible case of piracy for several reasons. The primary reason is because it arguably involves stolen cargo, though it is unclear exactly how the cargo was obtained. Duperry’s deposition states that he is charging three Irishmen for the taking of his cargo of wine. There are two possible ways that his cargo would have been ‘taken’; the first is by sly theft, the second is that it was taken by force. It hardly seems fitting to state that the cargo had been stolen even if the case was actually that of payment fraud, as Duperry’s deposition indicates that before any of the cargo could be

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

taken the ‘supposed’ offending merchants were arrested in Bordeaux, Duperry’s place of origin. Therefore, the men were likely to be jailed for a more serious crime than piracy.

It is not until after the arrest had been made that the ship belonging to the merchants made the return journey to Ireland, freshly laded with wine. According to Duperry’s deposition, it is suggested that the wine is unpaid for, which presents the case as one of simple theft.⁴⁴⁰ The second possible label of piracy, though less likely so is that the crew conspired against Skiddy and his co-investors and not only pirated the cargo from Duperry but also from the merchant investors. This latter scenario may seem even less likely than having pilfered it straight from Duperry, because as illustrated in James Coursey’s deposition, the crew of the ship was justly paid for their work by the brother of one of the jailed merchants. This relies on the unknown origin of the crew of the ship, which freighted the wine back to Ireland using a ship belonging to the Earl of Desmond. The Earl, who offered his ship for service, is the same as that involved in the case of John Ellyott and the vessel *Fly* found in the previous chapter.⁴⁴¹ As previously highlighted, Desmond was not afraid to profit in what ways he could as his earldom needed maintenance against his nemesis, the Earl of Ormond. It is possible that the crew sailing the *James* that returned with the wine sailed for Desmond.

This case differs from many others as the crew prospered while the merchants they had sailed for did not. A mariner’s ability to pay his expenses was reliant not only upon his ability to secure employment but also upon the successful completion of a merchant voyage. This relied on good orders, good weather and no small amount of good fortune. In the event of a shipwreck, damage or looting of cargo, employers were not obliged to pay, as the job had not been completed. A good master would usually try to see that their crew was given some

⁴⁴⁰ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/17/ ff269-70.

⁴⁴¹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/7/ ff389-9v.

compensation for their efforts.⁴⁴² As the precedent proves so often that it is the merchant investors *and* the crew that lose in cases of misfortune, natural or otherwise, this case stands apart as the crew dictate ahead of time their gains and the investors are left to lose. Desmond, while perhaps not personally involved, may have gained from the venture by supplying men that ensured their own personal gain regardless of where their investors were locked up. This case illustrates the difficulties in identifying cases of piracy as well as the members involved. Officials and men of high status who had a record of involvement in seaborne depredation must be scrutinised carefully when their names are connected to cases brought before the High Court of Admiralty. In cases where an official might be mentioned once or in passing, it remains prudent to consider why the name is mentioned in a deposition about piracy provided under oath.

Deposition of Nicholas Dennys and the Spanish ship

Many men of status often reaped the reward of deviant behaviour - especially in relation to piracy - without truly being reprimanded for their actions. This is true for repeat offenders as exemplified by Sir John Perrot. The following case provides further proof of the leniency shown to officials who promoted piracy around the Irish Sea during the sixteenth century. In January 1582, a Spanish ship which Philip de Oris was master and owner of, was transporting linen cloth and other goods when it was attacked by Englishmen in the haven at Falmouth, on the south coast of Cornwall. According to Morrys Wise, the ship was assailed by some of Sir

⁴⁴² For example, the Admiralty ruled that the crew of the ship *Advantage* of London be given partial wages for the 'successful' stretch of the journey they had undertaken. The ship had successfully arrived in Ireland from London, but the ship did not make it to Bordeaux as had been planned, and though the crew managed to save much of the *Advantage's* cargo and furnishings as they could, on their return from the disastrous voyage, the owner did not 'afforde them any thinge of his goodwill for their paynes'. PRO H.C.A. 14/36/ f 196.

John Killigrew's men.⁴⁴³ The ship was taken captive and brought to Ireland. The company of the Spanish ship were thrown overboard whereupon they drowned in the ocean en route to Ireland. Only two Dutchmen had been spared to help sail and navigate the ship.⁴⁴⁴ The Spanish vessel was taken by several men, most of whom were unnamed. In the testimony given by Nicholas Dennys, two names that were involved in the attack are provided, that of Gabriel Roe and William Sergeant.⁴⁴⁵

According to Dennys's deposition, Roe had come to him 'out of Ireland to Bristol and confessed as much to him.'⁴⁴⁶ In Roe's confession, he described that the Spanish ship had been brought into Baltimore, western county Cork, around 12 January 1582. This date is further confirmed by Wise who, due to bad weather, had been 'driven into Baltimore on a bark of Southampton, about 12 January.'⁴⁴⁷ The Spanish ship, 'being in need of masts and other things', was quickly cast aside and the pirates invested in a new bark which they bought from captain Apsley and Thomas Eden, lieutenant to Captain Apsley, and an 'Englishman of Ross.'⁴⁴⁸ Wise states that Eden was often aboard the pirates' ship. Eden had bought the small bark of 15 tons from a Matthew Hore of Plymouth and was using it in the haven of Baltimore to sell pilchards before selling it to the pirates.

Apsley, during the second Desmond rebellion, was the commander of English forces in Carbery. He was subsequently killed alongside all of those under his command at Bantry

⁴⁴³ 29 March 1582. Deposition of Morrys Wise, PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 204-5. Morrys Wise is likely Maurice Wise of Waterford. Wise is listed as a Mayor of Waterford for 1554. Timothy Cunningham, ed. and trans., 'A list of the Mayors, Bailiffs, & Sheriffs of the City of Waterford: from the year 1377, to the year 1806, Inclusive,' in *The Great Charter of the Liberties of the City of Waterford: Explanatory Notes* (Kilkenny: J. Reynolds-Bookseller and Stationer, 1806), 113.

⁴⁴⁴ PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 204-5.

⁴⁴⁵ Gabriel Roe was born near Barnstaple. 23 March 1582. Deposition of Nicholas Dennys, PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 203-3v.

⁴⁴⁶ PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 203-3v.

⁴⁴⁷ PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 204-5.

⁴⁴⁸ It is also noted that Eden was from Ross or Rosscarberry. Ibid.

Abbey on 23 March 1582, two months after his sale of the bark.⁴⁴⁹ The pirates paid £50 to Apsley and Eden and ‘delivered them goods valued at 100 marks’ to cover the cost of the bark. Thomas Eden and Captain Apsley also received, in return for the vessel, a chest of wrought pewter and a great quantity of Hollands with some wax and ropes from the pirates.⁴⁵⁰ The bandits unloaded most of the pirated goods, ‘being wax, Holland cloth, ropes and other wares’ into the new bark and planned their departure, leaving the stolen Spanish ship in the haven.⁴⁵¹

Before they left Ireland, however, the pirates were not adverse to selling some of the cargo from the Spanish prize. Wise states that the master of the bark, referring to the newly acquired pirate bark, ‘went aboard the Spanish ship and brought forth certain Hollands, wax and other goods.’⁴⁵² Wise had joined the master on the ship and while any transactions were taking place, he observed that ‘there were not more than four or five mariners aboard her, whereof two were Dutchmen, the rest being English serving men and soldiers.’⁴⁵³ Three days after their departure from the haven, the pirate bark was driven ashore on the islands of Ennessercan (Sherkin Island, Co. Cork)⁴⁵⁴ and broke into pieces. The shipwrecked goods were thereby taken up by the lord of Baltimore and ‘other islanders’. As the ship was no longer able to sail, Fineen O’Driscoll, whom Roe and Wise referred to as ‘lord of that soil’ or ‘Lord of Baltimore and other islanders’, seized the pirated cargo and took it ‘into his possession’.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁴⁹ 12 January 1582. ‘Captain Apsley was ordered to place 100 troops in Carbery and Bantry... it was reported that Captain Apsley and all his men were killed during an attack by David Barry and the McSwineys, followers of the Earl of Desmond’. Eden was stationed in Rosscarbery. Edward O’Mahony, ‘Baltimore, the O’Driscolls, and the end of Gaelic civilization, 1538-1615’, *The Mizen Journal*, no. 8 (2000), 115-116.

⁴⁵⁰ PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 203-3v.

⁴⁵¹ PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 204-5.

⁴⁵² Ibid.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ Also known as Sherkin Island, it was historically called Inisherkin or Inis Earcáin in Irish. Sherkin Island is southwest of County Cork.

⁴⁵⁵ PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 204-5; PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 203-3v.

The seizing of shipwrecked cargo was common practice and is noted throughout documents spanning the entire century. For example, a January 1549 correspondence to Lord Deputy Bellingham from the Mayor of Limerick complains of a Limerick ship which had been laden with wines and other sundries ‘had been wrecked on the coast of Wexford and the goods [had been] plundered by the inhabitants.’⁴⁵⁶ Later in the sixteenth century, after the Spanish Armada, Lord Burghley received a letter updating him on the situation in Ireland. Among the list of ‘Ireland’s problems’ (or problems with the ‘Irish’) includes, ‘The English inhabitants... odious to the Irish’ and ‘straight dealing and tortures used to recover from the Irish the treasure taken from the Spanish wrecks...’⁴⁵⁷

The wrecked merchant ship of Philip de Oris washed up on the territory of the O’Driscolls. The O’Driscolls were at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the leading family of the Corca Laoighdhe, former Kings of Munster, in Ireland.⁴⁵⁸ The clan retained strong control in the area, lasting until the fall of the Gaelic order in County Cork.⁴⁵⁹ The particular branch of the clan that Dennys’s deposition addresses is the O’Driscoll Mór of Collymore.⁴⁶⁰ O’Driscoll was working under orders from Giles Clencher, servant to the lord admiral, to keep the goods safe ‘until the right owners, or commission from the lord admiral,

⁴⁵⁶ *CSPI, 1509-1573*, 100.

⁴⁵⁷ 27 July 1589. *CSPI, 1588-1592*, 223.

⁴⁵⁸ The territory of the O’Driscoll clan reached from Cape Clear, including nearby small islands, through Baltimore and to Castlehaven. The O’Driscolls fell under the McCarthy Reagh clan, who held authority over the whole of the barony of Carbery, which stretched from Bantry Bay to Kinsale and housed Dun-na-long Castle, the traditional seat of the O’Driscoll clan.

⁴⁵⁹ The O’Driscolls eventually submitted to English domination through the acts of Surrender and Re-grant in March 1573 and formalised in September 1573. *CSPI, 1509-1573*, 498. See: Michael C. O’Laughlin, ‘Families of County Cork, Ireland: Including Cork City and County’ in *Book of Irish Families, Great & Small*, Vol. 4 (Missouri: Irish Genealogical Foundation, 1996), 71. Not much is recorded of the O’Driscoll clan during the years between 1538-1573. It appears that the O’Driscolls may have taken the side of the rebels in the Desmond rebellion as a pardon exists for their part in the uprising, though no specific mention is made of what their involvement was. It is mentioned, however, in the Calendar of State Papers that the O’Driscolls’ overlord Sir Owen McCarthy Reagh, who was also Fineen O’Driscoll’s father-in-law, was one of a few in the county of Cork, who were so injured and exacted upon by the Earl of Desmond, ‘as in effecte they are or were become his Thralls or Slaves’, suggesting that the clans were not openly active in the rebellion. *CSPI, 1509-1573*, 330.

⁴⁶⁰ O’Mahony, ‘Baltimore, the O’Driscolls.’

came for the same.’⁴⁶¹ Clencher had taken inventory of the goods at O’Driscoll’s, confirming that under Fineen’s care was four packs of Holland cloth, wax, ropes, buckrams, ‘and other wares such as chairs, pins and the like.’⁴⁶² Denny verified the accuracy of Clencher’s inventory by stating that he had been ‘present at the arrival of the pirate’s ship and ‘sundry times went aboard her.’⁴⁶³ That the bark should come to its demise in territory belonging to the O’Driscolls insured that the vessel would draw the attention of the admiralty.

Much of the O’Driscoll Mór’s wealth stemmed from the fertile fishing grounds in the shallows off Baltimore.⁴⁶⁴ The system for licensing and subsequent sale of fish in O’Driscoll Mór’s territory necessitated strict regulation.⁴⁶⁵ A court was held every Monday with a specially appointed admiral from Kinsale.⁴⁶⁶ O’Driscoll was also able to call on military forces to enforce his court orders and he personally employed constables, bailiffs and a chief galley of thirty oars. All wrecks and goods that washed ashore in his territory belonged, with permission of the admiralty, to O’Driscoll Mór. It is probable also that the O’Driscolls acted

⁴⁶¹ PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 203-3v.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ O’Mahony, ‘Baltimore, the O’Driscolls.’

⁴⁶⁵ Sir Fineen wrote to the English government on 28 September 1583, requesting a grant for fishing rights for ‘he hears of 100 sail of fishermen gone to Baltimore, and fears his tenants may fall out with them.’ *CSPI, 1574-1585*, 471.

⁴⁶⁶ The O’Driscoll clan fell into various disagreements with other port towns due to some of its fishing policies and fees as well piracy of its own. For instance, on 29 February 1538, three Portuguese merchant ships with a cargo of wine to trade in Waterford were driven by storms toward the jagged coast of west Cork. One ship, the *Santa Maria de Soci*, was forced to harbour there. Fineen O’Driscoll and his two sons agreed to pilot the ship to safety in exchange for three tuns of wine. This was done in agreement. However, the wine proved to be too much of a temptation for the O’Driscolls who seized the ship. Inviting some of the merchants of the *Santa Maria de Soci* to dinner, the O’Driscolls seized and bound them and commandeered the ship and her cargo of 72 tuns of wine. The news reached Waterford on 3 March 1538 and twenty-five well-armed men set forth against the O’Driscolls. A follow-up attack from Waterford took place on 27 March 1538. It was led by the mayor of Waterford and four hundred men in three vessels. Over the course of five days the group destroyed nearly all villages, boats and inhabitants under the O’Driscolls. Edward O’Mahony, ‘Waterford and the Sack of Baltimore’, *The Mizen Journal*, no. 7 (1999), 29-30. See also the Calendar of State Papers’ entry for April 1538 regarding ‘the treachery of Finnin O’Driscoll, Conochor his son, and Gilly Duff his base son, in seizing on a ship of Waterford, which they had succored in distress off Innishircan; with the revenge of the Waterfordians’. *CSPI, 1574-1585*, 40.

responsibly and justly in this incident due to the horrific ramifications the clan had faced in the past due to their own intimate involvement with piracy.⁴⁶⁷

From Wise's and Dennys's depositions further pilfered cargo can be traced from its origin in the Spanish ship to its various ends in merchant's hands. For example, Dennys stated that 'Thomas Smith, an Englishman of York, had 'certain Hollands from the pirates' which he kept safe in his house and that 'another merchant of York bought off a Dutchman, called Guillam, 4 pieces of Hollands.'⁴⁶⁸ Wise highlighted in his deposition the intervention of a Sir Warram Sellinger stating that 'about two days after the Spanish ship was brought into Baltimore' a flyboat of Plymouth also arrived in port, transporting Sir Warram Sellinger from Bristol to Ireland. Wise states that 'the master thereof [the flyboat of Plymouth] went aboard the Spanish ship with bread and beer, and received a great quantity for goods from the pirates.'⁴⁶⁹

Another name in connection with the pilfered cargo is the surname 'Gould' mentioned by name in both Dennys's and Wise's depositions. Peers Gould, a merchant of Cork, was often seen in the haven of Baltimore 'near to the pirate ship, making sale of wines and aquavitæ.'⁴⁷⁰ According to Dennys, Gould was often aboard the pirate's ship and received goods from them. Gould is reported to have also lodged one of the pirates, 'a Dutchman', in his own house. Wise mentions that he witnessed 'Peers Roche Gould and John Gould of Cork,

⁴⁶⁷ Following the attack of Waterford, after the clan's involvement pirating the wine from the *Santa Maria de Soci* (see above), the O'Driscolls were effectively subdued and there is no other records of the O'Driscoll clan attacking Waterford after that incident.

⁴⁶⁸ PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 203-3v. Not to be confused with Guillaume le Testu of Le Havre, who as ship captain sailed the Spanish Main with Sir Francis Drake. Andrews, *Trade, plunder and settlement*, 131.

⁴⁶⁹ PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 204-5.

⁴⁷⁰ PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 203-3v. Aqua vitæ also known as uisge beatha, usque baugh, or whiskey is first noted in the Irish Annals A.D. 1405. G.B. 'On the Early Use of Aqua-Vitæ in Ireland', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 6 (1858), 284, accessed November 3, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2060880>.

merchants, sell wine and victuals' and buying pictures and 'pins and other goods of greater value which they kept privy.'⁴⁷¹

Tracing the final destination of stolen cargo is not always straight forward. However, with the aid of these two men's depositions further 'Hollands', or textiles of Holland, are traceable. Wise testifies that 'three of four of the pirates laded a horse with Hollands in Baltimore, and gave one Knowgher Mackedigon of Castlehaven 12 ells of the same Holland to conduct them from Castlehaven to Ross.'⁴⁷² The stolen goods travelled beyond Ireland, as Wise witnessed after his journey from Baltimore to Padstow. In Padstow, one of the company of the original bark from Southampton, by the name of John and servant to the owner of the bark, 'had 9 ells of coarse Holland which he had at Baltimore out of the Spanish ship.' Wise admits that at this point in time in Padstow he bought '3 ells off him [John], for 5s., to make a shirt.'⁴⁷³

Ultimately, other portions of the cargo from the Spanish ship are dispersed around Southampton. Wise states that,

a John Mullyn and Irishman, servant to a brewer in Southampton, bought the other three ells [from John] and the controller of Padstow, finding certain wrought pewter aboard the bark, which one of the company had at Baltimore, took the same away, promising him money for it. But after he had the same ashore he would not give anything for the same.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷¹ PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 204-5.

⁴⁷² Ibid. An ell is a unit used in measuring. The word originally approximated the length of a man's arm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger. In later usage, an English ell was typically 45 inches, a yard and quarter. Daniel O'Gorman, *Intuitive Calculations: The Readiest and Most Concise Methods Ever Published*, 7th ed. (Manchester: Alcock and Humby, 1853), 48.

⁴⁷³ PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 204-5.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

Killigrew is mentioned fleetingly as Wise focuses his narrative on the men under Killigrew's command. Sir John Killigrew, however, should not be discounted completely in consideration of this case.

Sir John Killigrew was the first Captain of Pendennis, Castle of Arwennack in Cornwall, England, and was vice-admiral of Cornwall.⁴⁷⁵ Sir John is mentioned in documents as consorting with and behaving like a pirate. As well, it is mentioned that Sir John held a brief appointment as a piracy commissioner.⁴⁷⁶ Sir John's wife, Elizabeth Trewinnard and the mother of ten, was also openly accused of being a pirate.⁴⁷⁷ Lady Killigrew was eventually charged for receiving and storing stolen goods in their home.⁴⁷⁸ Sir John Killigrew died in 1584.⁴⁷⁹ David Mathew, a Cornish historian, writes that 'John Killigrew had relations with all the pirates from "the Terrible John Piers", who worked with his mother, a well-known witch in Cornwall, to the Lord Conchobar O'Driscoll, "Sir Finian of the Ships".'⁴⁸⁰

The Killigrews may have indeed been behind the initial hijacking of De Oris's Spanish ship despite so little attention given to them in depositions. The Killigrews controlled Falmouth Haven and employed armed retainers to supervise deliveries to merchants there.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁵ Pendennis Castle was constructed under the reign of Henry VIII on Sir John's land in 1540. The Killigrew's annual income from their territory amounted to the considerable sum of £1,000. Sir John was the first hereditary captain of Pendennis and he therefore was responsible for all the shipping within Falmouth. Sir John used this to his advantage and, in 1567, fortified Arwenack House for use as a stronghold and storehouse for pilfered cargos. The House of Arwenack was located near a solitary region of Falmouth Harbour near to the open sea. David Mathew, 'The Cornish and Welsh Pirates in the Reign of Elizabeth', *The English Historical Review* 39, no. 155 (July 1924), 339-40; Sharp, *Daring Pirate Women*, 41-47. See also Davies Gilbert, *The Parochial History of Cornwall: Founded on the Manuscript Histories of Mr Hals & Mr Tonkin* (London: J.B. Nichols & Son, 1838), 65, 137, and 388.

⁴⁷⁶ Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag*, 125-6.

⁴⁷⁷ Cordingley, *Under the Black Flag*, 18.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Sir John Killigrew's son was named after him and a member of parliament. Wise may have been referencing either of these men as a great number of the Killigrews were charged with piracy. Gardiner, *The History Today*, 478.

⁴⁸⁰ John C. Appleby, *Woman and English Piracy 1540-1720: Partners and Victims of Crime*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013) 51; Susan E. Gay, *Old Falmouth*, (London: Headley Brothers, 1903) 176; Mark G. Hanna, *Pirate Nests and the Rise of the British Empire, 1570-1740*, (Williamsburg: University of North Carolina Press, 2015) 29. For use of Conchobar as a hereditary designation, see the *Annals of the Four Masters*. Mathew, 'The Cornish and Welsh Pirates,' 341.

⁴⁸¹ John Chynoweth, *The Gentry of Tudor Cornwall* (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 1994), 67.

The Killigrew family name is associated with piracy at various times throughout the sixteenth century.⁴⁸² Numerous ‘historical accounts’ reference the years 1581 and 1582 in regards to Killigrew piratical activity within Falmouth harbour, however none of the sources agree on set timelines of events.⁴⁸³ One of the most reasonably complete accounts of the incident or possible incidents is provided by Anne Wallace Sharp. Sharp describes two separate cases of piracy that take place within Falmouth harbour in early 1582 based on oral tradition. These stories may be based on the case of ‘Nicholas Dennys and the Spanish ship’.

The first case of piracy addressed is in regard to a ‘Large Spanish ship’ that had entered the harbour to take refuge while a violent storm ensued. According to Sharp, the Spanish crewmen remained aboard the ship while their captain and the first mate went ashore to the Killigrew castle. While under the care of Lady Killigrew and the ‘best English hospitality’, her men were sent silently to slip aboard the ship to loot and pillage to their heart’s content. Sharp writes, ‘...the pirates killed everyone on board and threw their bodies into the sea...several of her [Lady Killigrew’s] pirates then sailed the great Spanish ship out to sea and sunk it.’⁴⁸⁴ The case concludes, ‘suspicions naturally fell on Lady Killigrew...it was impossible, however, to prove that a crime had been committed since all evidence had vanished without a trace.’⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸² For example, sailing in 1556, the Killigrews can be identified as privateers who turned pirate. Peter Killigrew was captured in the same year and in September, twenty-four of his men were hanged for piracy. However, by 1557 ‘Killigrew had been sufficiently rehabilitated to be placed in charge of one of the Queen’s ships’. Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag*, 69-71, 100, 125-6.

⁴⁸³ Both Appleby’s and Mathew’s works on the Killigrews provide comprehensive citations from various contemporary accounts such as the State Papers, Acts of the Privy Council, the Hatfield papers etc.; however, neither historian provides specific cases of piratical acts. All other extant sources that focus on specific incidents are missing proper citation and/or misquote information from any sources that are cited. Therefore, the cases recounted in detail have been interpreted as ‘oral tradition’ or ‘folklore’ for this case study in light of the poor historiographical practice.

⁴⁸⁴ Sharp, *Daring Pirate Women*, 45.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 46. David Cordingly suggests that it may have been Lady Killigrew ‘who provided the inspiration for Daphne du Maurier’s novel *Frenchman’s Creek*’. The heroine of the story falls for the main character as he carries out daring raids on the coast of Cornwall. Cordingly, *Under the Balck Flag*, 18.

Of the later incident, Sharp relates that ‘in 1582, the Killigrews made a near-fatal mistake. A rich German merchant ship was anchored in Falmouth Harbour...Although English and German leaders had close ties, the Killigrews couldn’t resist the temptation.’⁴⁸⁶ Lady Killigrew was arrested after she sent her servants to capture the cargo from the Hanseatic vessel, *Marie of San Sebastian*. This attack again resulted in the violent deaths of some of the merchant mariners. Lady Killigrew together with her sons, Sir John, Peter and Thomas, and Killigrew’s grandson John, as well as her daughter-in-law and grandson’s wife was charged with having engaged in acts of piracy.⁴⁸⁷

With regards to the two separate oral traditions presented by Sharp, one case concludes with a definite outcome and Killigrew is charged with piracy. The other case is left with an open ending, leaving the Spanish ship’s ultimate ending up to the imaginations of the reader of the tale. Folklore and ‘tall tales’ are often based, to some extent, on truth. Arguably, there is far more to the first story than a ‘mystery conclusion’. The case of the Spanish ship that Nicholas Dennys presents to the High Court and that is elaborated above could arguably be what happened to the Spanish ship that sailed so long ago into Falmouth harbour. Dennys’s testimony could be the truth that the oral tradition is based on. There are, however, a few points of contention between the presentation that Sharp provides and the above case study that need to be recognised.

The original ‘story’ states that, ‘after filling their rowboats with the ship’s cargo...her [Lady Killigrew’s] crew returned to the castle. Hiding the loot in yet another secret passageway.’⁴⁸⁸ This scenario only seems fitting if the Killigrews had killed or at least intended to kill the captain and first mate. It would be highly unlikely they would have stored the ill-gotten cargo anywhere close to the vicinity where they lived. It would otherwise have

⁴⁸⁶ Sharp, *Daring Pirate Women*, 46.

⁴⁸⁷ Chynoweth, *The Gentry*, 67; Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag*, 70.

⁴⁸⁸ Sharp, *Daring Pirate Women*, 47.

been all too easy to have been caught in the act while entertaining the weather-worn mariners. Their crime would have been even more evident if the Killigrew pirates had already killed the Spanish crew amidst the entertainment. It is more likely that the goods were left on board the vessel, which would have then provided free transport as well as less work in adverse weather. This proposed circumstance becomes even more viable when considering the type of cargo the Spanish ship was conveying.

In the twelfth century, Flemish cloth sold for a handsome sum, but by the sixteenth century England was no longer exporting unrefined wool and was spinning its own cloth. This consequently decreased the demand for Flemish and Dutch cloth.⁴⁸⁹ It can therefore be assumed that the ship was not targeted for the value of its cargo. The cloth is mentioned periodically throughout the depositions with less focus given to other items. Therefore it is safe to surmise that the pirates will have known that their newly acquired ‘booty’ would not bring them the bountiful riches they had originally hoped for.

Armed with the depositions and folklore together, perhaps the mystery conclusion of the pirated Spanish ship at Falmouth has been unveiled. The pirates that attacked the Spanish ship at Falmouth harbour did not suddenly kill the crew and dump their bodies in the sea; as suggested by the first account. Dead bodies float and it could quickly become apparent that something sinister had happened in the bay to anyone that might visit there for days after.⁴⁹⁰ The deposition of Morrys Wise states that the Spanish vessel was attacked and boarded by a

⁴⁸⁹ Textile manufacturing had been a staple of Flanders and Brabant until the onset of the 1568 Dutch revolt. The ongoing fighting and wartime disruption resulted in devastation for the cloth industry. Despite this textiles remained the most important industry in the Dutch economy. Cloth continued to be a constant export beside herring, salt, and wine. For more information see Jan De Vries and Ad Van Der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perservance of the Dutch Economy, 1500- 1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), Chapter 8.

⁴⁹⁰ A corpse initially sinks when in water. Over time the anaerobic bacteria in the body excrete carbon dioxide and sulphur dioxide gases which inflate the body causing buoyancy. Factors such as temperature, depth and amount of light will affect the time that this happens. See Joseph H. Davis, ‘Bodies found in the water: An Investigative Approach’, *The American Journal of Forensic Medicine and Pathology* 7, no. 4 (December 1986), 291-3.

number of Sir John Killigrew's men.⁴⁹¹ It was taken captive and made a prize, then brought to Ireland. The company of the Spanish mariners were all cruelly thrown overboard en route to Ireland, drowning and lost in a vast expanse of ocean where they would never be found. Wise's deposition perhaps provides the solid evidence for what really took place on the Spanish ship attacked by the Killigrews.

As illustrated in the various depositions, the ship and her cargo ended up far away from the hands of the original pirate orchestrators. What the Killigrew pirates had not counted on was the un-seaworthiness of their newly acquired ship, which was to replace their original vessel, the original vessel being a Spanish ship that had been 'in need of masts and other things', as it perhaps was damaged by a storm?⁴⁹² Therefore, the trade with Apsley and his lieutenant Eden was obviously, initially, beneficial for both the military gentlemen and the pirates. The pirates found a 'legitimate' means to dispose of the stolen cargo as well as a way to replace their means of transportation. Apsley and Eden found a way to gain a great load of cargo for a fraction of its value. A cargo that they probably figured they could get away with without feeling guilty as they could easily claim ignorance of the cargo's origin. This theory would then suggest that the Killigrews got away with this particular pirating venture.

The Killigrews, however, did not 'get away with it'. 'Faced with repeated allegations of conniving with pirates', Sir John Killigrew fled Cornwall.⁴⁹³ His initial whereabouts during his brief time as a fugitive was based on hearsay; he was rumoured to be in both London and Ireland.⁴⁹⁴ Killigrew voluntarily turned himself in before the council and, after a

⁴⁹¹ PRO H.C.A. 13/24/ ff 204-5.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

⁴⁹³ Appleby, *Under the Blood Flag*, 182.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

brief stint of confinement, he returned to Cornwall.⁴⁹⁵ It is unknown if the cargo held by the O'Driscoll Mór clan was ever reclaimed. The information surrounding the case does not provide insight as to the original merchants' actions apart from the initial depositions. It is likely that the cargo would have been a most welcome gift to the O'Driscolls if they were allowed possession. Their territories would have been under on-going restoration and regrowth; repercussions from the second Desmond rebellion of the preceding decade.⁴⁹⁶ It is likely that O' Driscoll Mór retained a portion, if not all, of the cargo it claimed from the wreck on its waterfronts. Therefore, while perhaps a sub-lord at one time and just a knight under the English system of Surrender and Re-grant, Fineen O'Driscoll Mór provides a solid example of an official benefiting from piracy, albeit indirectly at this time.

The practice of the sixteenth century created a confusing relationship between privateering and piracy. It also demonstrated the growing 'variety and vitality' of seaborne depredation. Piracy ranged from highly opportunistic spoil by small numbers of loosely organised armed men, such as demonstrated by the crew that Giles Wiggers sailed with, to more effectively structured and planned entrepreneurial plunder, undertaken by large groups of well-armed bandits who were sometimes organised, promoted and protected by landed factions as exemplified by the Killigrew family. The mutinous crew sailing with Wiggers believed they had an opportunity they could not refuse. Whereas, if lore is based on truth, the Killigrews had gone beyond opportunistic raiding and lulled ships into a false sense of security while their underlings took care of the 'dirty work'.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Sir John Perrot was instated as Admiral of the Queens ships and was responsible for the patrol of Ireland's west coast. He landed four ships with hundreds of men in Baltimore on 14 September 1579. As Baltimore was geographically further west, the O'Driscoll territory proved vital for the English government in the battle with the Desmonds. Sir Fineen O'Driscoll sided with the English and his land and people were therefore forced to work with and host the military. *CSPI, 1574-1585*, 214. In addition, the plague had reached Cork in 1582. Ibid., 361-2.

Through various channels pirate plunder was re-distributed and widely dispersed in commercial and gift exchanges. During exceptionally busy periods of activity pirate crews effectively organized their own markets aboard. These sales would attract large groups of potential purchasers eager to acquire cheap commodities, free of customs duties. Pirate William Fludde clearly had in mind a quick sale turn over for the cargo of the *Michael Archangel*. Mierman's deposition shows no hostilities or distrustful behaviour from the pirate, after he had sailed into Kinsale and opened his ship to strangers. Further examples of buying and selling of 'stolen cargo' will be addressed in the final chapter regarding merchant and buyer piracy. However, for consideration now is the damage inflicted by pirates on trade and shipping, the circulation of plundered cargoes most likely will have helped to limit the cost to the wider sixteenth-century economy.

There is a plethora of documentation and oral tales identifying or implying gentlemen of status and office being involved with piracy. This is especially true in Ireland where the dividing lines of religion, nationality and patriotism were blurred by the contentious religious reformation, the Tudor push to consolidate their rule and failing Anglo-Spanish relations. The attraction of gaining a fast profit at sea encouraged the participation of officials and aristocratic adventurers, especially among those who were already involved with the maritime community or owners of shipping industries. Individual financial interests trumped the expected duties of men in positions of power. The political and religious climate as well as the remote locations of Ireland provided men in positions of power and aristocratic families to pursue rivalries as well as personal greed at sea whereby Ireland created a cover for indiscriminate plunder and piracy. The island effectively became a seedbed for piracy that would become even more evident later in the seventeenth century.

Chapter 3

‘Buyers and Merchants’ Piracy

The previous chapters have provided an insight into what ‘politically based’ piracy and ‘official’ piracy, as it relates to Ireland, may have looked like. This final chapter will now engage with those depositions that help us to understand the ways in which piracy was perceived by the more common man, the merchant and the buyer. In particular, this chapter will assess six cases, drawing from the depositions of men who financed trading ventures, served upon vessels and those that bought their wares. By analysing these cases we can see who benefited from the exchange of depredated goods and why piracy flourished. Piratical activity was allowed to endure to some extent during the sixteenth century because it provided a service to those men looking to make their fortune from theft, insurance or ‘bottom line savings’. The continued social acceptance of seaborne depredation, so long as it benefited the community, created the foundation for later pirate plantation in Ireland.

The Deposition of Nicholas Alreddie and the *Anne*

Clive Senior writes that the best defence against allegations of trading with a pirate was to ‘claim that the pirates had appeared in such strength that they had had no alternative but to entertain them.’⁴⁹⁷ While this may seem like a solid course of action to take, many of the men standing accused of piracy choose instead to plead ignorance. Nicholas Alreddie’s deposition imparts a story of privateering bordering on piracy, the sale of stolen goods and proclamations of ignorance as an excuse for innocence. According to his deposition of July of 1588, a ship, the *Anne* which had been stocked with wheat, ‘salt hides’ and ‘other

⁴⁹⁷ Senior, *A Nation of Pirates*, 55.

merchandizes belonging to Irish merchants’, was brought into Cockington pier, Torquay in the county of Devon, by Andrew Fulford, Walter Edney and their company.⁴⁹⁸ Nicholas Alreddie accepted 30 bushells of wheat from the captured ship, ‘in return for various debts which the said Edney owed him’ in the belief that Walter Edney and one William Walker were the owners and victuallers of the ship.’⁴⁹⁹ Alreddie continued in his relation to deny receiving any other goods from the *Anne* apart from the 30 bushells.

Perhaps in an attempt to focus reprehension away from himself, Alreddie went on to name, and thereby incriminate, other men who had received various amounts of wheat from the *Anne*’s hold. He claimed that ‘Thomas Plumleigh a merchant of Dartmouth, Robert Pax, Peter Baxter and Thomas Sayer then mayor of Dartmouth,’ had received goods from Fulford and Edney. Alreddie then verifies that he observed the wheat and hides being ‘unladen out of the Irish ship and put into cellars belonging to Mr Cary of Cockington’ and that he had heard that the goods were appraised, ‘but by what order’ he did not know.⁵⁰⁰ While information regarding most of the names listed by Alreddie is unavailable, the last name he provides is important to the case of the stolen *Anne*.

Mr. George Cary of Cockington was a prominent figure in the history of Devon. Carey served in a variety of positions including those of captain, recorder, treasurer, lieutenant justice, and lieutenant deputy spanning the time period from 1572 to 1604.⁵⁰¹ In 1579, a Privy Council order to Vice Admiral Sir John Gilbert suggested that local justices and ‘principally Mr. Carey of Cockington’ should assist him in suppressing the piracy in and around Devon. His involvement in the case of the *Anne* seems curious then, because he

⁴⁹⁸ Salt Hides are animal hides which have gone through a curing process with salt. The curing is employed to prevent putrefaction. The ship is later identified as the *Anne* of Dublin and was captured by the *Grace of God*. This is unclear when accessing Alreddie’s deposition only. Deposition of Nicholas Alreddie, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/27/ff292v-3; Deposition of John Dolberre, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/27/ ff297v-8.

⁴⁹⁹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/27/ff292v-3.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ 1 March 1599. *CSPI, 1598-1601*, 484-7.

would seem to be on the wrong side of justice to that of his Privy Council appointment. However, his involvement may seem less at odds upon further investigation. Carey was not afraid to prioritise his own interests. Firstly, this is exemplified by a dispute Carey had with Sir John Gilbert regarding the disposal of prisoners and booty taken from a captured Armada ship.⁵⁰² In the last part of his testimony, Alreddie states that Edney had told him that a Frenchman had the Irish bark and ‘certain ordnance’ in recompence for a French ship that had been taken from him.⁵⁰³

Alreddie’s deposition was just one of many involved in the case of the *Anne* and her cargo. Another deposition, providing further details in the piecing together of this puzzle, was provided by Richard Cowarne of Exeter, a shoemaker by profession. In his statement provided on the 1st of February 1589, Cowarne explains that a proclamation was made in the parish churches and market towns regarding Cockington and that there were ‘tanned hides and skins to be sold there.’⁵⁰⁴ Upon hearing this advert, Cowarne went to Cockington and purchased ‘39 dickers of skins and hides (at 10 hides to the dicker)’ from Walter Edney for 46s. per dicker. Cowarne expanded that he had been a partner in the purchase of the 39 dickers with two others, Abraham Cowne and John Stronge.⁵⁰⁵ Most importantly to his defence, Cowarne went on to state that he had heard the ‘lawful custom and tenths were paid on the goods.’⁵⁰⁶ ‘Tenths’ or ‘Royal tenths’ referred to a portion of the seizures made by English privateers anywhere in the world that were to be paid to the Crown.⁵⁰⁷ Mention is made again of ‘Tenths’ in relation to the High Court of Admiralty on 5 May 1703, ‘Session

⁵⁰² 9 July 1596. Roberts, *Calendar of the Cecil Papers*, 245.

⁵⁰³ Though not expanded upon directly in the deposition, it is likely that the Frenchman that possessed the *Anne* at this point also possessed a Letter of Reprisal. However, as there is no further information available, it is not possible at this point to track from what country that grant was given.

⁵⁰⁴ Deposition of Richard Cowarne, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/27/ff302v-3.

⁵⁰⁵ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/27/ff302v-3

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷ This ‘Tenths’ is separate from that of ‘Secular Tenths’ which does not appear on imports and ‘Ecclesiastical Tenths’, also known as ‘First Fruits’. For more information on custom taxes in the sixteenth century see Paul Dryburgh and Brendan Smith, eds., *Handbook and Select Calendar of Sources for Medieval Ireland in the National Archives of the United Kingdom* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005).

entertained a motion from that island's Attorney-General Edward Chilton... That no privateers be admitted to go out of this Island until they have given security to pay the Lord High Admiral's tenths of every prize they shall take, which was granted.'⁵⁰⁸

That Cowarne acknowledged the custom of 'tenths' in his deposition means that he was aware that the goods he was purchasing were indeed from a seized cargo. He must also have been aware that the sellers were or were working on behalf of privateers. In a further correlated deposition provided four days after Cowarne's by John Dolberre of Devon on 6 February 1589, the Lord Admiral's tenths is mentioned as well. Significantly, he makes further mention of another important figure in the expanding story of the *Anne*. Dolberre's statement identifies Captain Fulford as responsible for bringing the *Anne* of Dublin laden with Irishmen's goods into Torbay road, London.⁵⁰⁹ He confirms Alreddie's affirmation that the cargo of wheat, hides, tanned leather, tallow and wax was appraised. Dolberre, like Alreddie, could not identify by whose authority the goods had been appraised. Dolberre, in his assertion that 'Tenths' had been paid, states '£20 was paid to a servant of Sir John Gilbert for the Lord Admiral's tenths.'⁵¹⁰

As the Privy Council suggested above, Sir John Gilbert may have worked with George Carey of Cockington in the suppression of piracy. Sir John Gilbert was related specifically to Sir Walter Raleigh and held positions as sheriff and Deputy Lieutenant of Devonshire.⁵¹¹ He eventually became Vice-Admiral of the western coast of England. By associating Sir John Gilbert's name with the taking of the *Anne* in his deposition, Dolberre may be trying to legitimize the hijacking of the vessel under the pretence of a privateering venture. Thus the disposal of her goods by way of sale would have been protected by

⁵⁰⁸ Cecil Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, American and West Indies, Volume 21, 1702-1703* (London: HMSO, 1913), Entry 661.

⁵⁰⁹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/27/ ff297v-8.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ Thomas Westcote, *A View of Devonshire in 1630 with a Pedigree of Most of its Gentry* (Exeter: William Roberts, 1845), 566- 8.

common law. Dolberre's deposition provides further evidence that the case of the *Anne* was one of privateering not piracy. Dolberre confesses that he bought 39 dickers of raw skins (at 10 skins per dicker) from Walter Edney and concludes his testimony by stating that he had heard that the Irishmen in the ship 'had confessed they were bound for Bilbao' and, 'as they were thus bound to the enemy', Dolberre thus asserts that he believed the goods to be lawful prize.⁵¹²

The ship, the *Anne* of Dublin, filled with merchant goods, metamorphosed over the course of six days and three depositions from an un-named vessel, under the ownership of Andrew Fulford and Walter Edney, into being identified as a captured prize vessel and cargo. This prize then was appraised, thus allowing the legal 'tenths' to be claimed, despite witnesses being unable to verify by whom the appraisal was completed. Finally, in all three depositions the witnesses swear that they were unaware that the cargo was illegitimate in any way. The natural conclusion from these depositions would then have to be a legitimate act of privateering and disposal of captured goods. After all, Bilbao (as stated in Dolberre's deposition) was the enemy. Bilbao, which would eventually become the capital of the province of Biscay, was one of the largest cities in northern Spain. During the timeframe that the *Anne* had been captured, England was at war with Spain and Ireland was fractured as English monarchs tried to bring the island under centralised rule through colonization and reformation. Why then consider the case of the *Anne* as a possible case of piracy?

The important names identified in the various depositions seem to align themselves with those associated with anti-piracy positions; as stated before, all the witnesses' testimonies assert that the goods purchased by them were undoubtedly and 'certifiably' legal. The case of the *Anne* was initially comprised of the three depositions of which have been expanded upon to this point. Each deposition is from the perspective of an 'unsuspecting'

⁵¹² PRO H.C.A. MS 13/27/ ff297v-8.

buyer of confiscated goods. Yet, as time progressed, the case of the *Anne* provided even more testimony as more witnesses added their statements.

A full week after the first deposition was provided the case was continued on the 7th of February 1589. William Mattheve of Cockington confessed that he bought six dickers of raw hides from John Dolberre, paying 46s. 8d. per dicker.⁵¹³ Mattheve also bought an additional five hides at that time, three from the ‘company of the men of war’ and two hides from George Norrys of Cockington. The deposition initially presents itself in very similar terms to those of Alreddie, Cowarn, and Dolberre’s, however it is Mattheve’s final statement that makes his deposition stand out. Mattheve ‘denies that he suspected they were unlawfully taken’.⁵¹⁴ This singular statement undermines the other three depositions because it implies one of two possibilities. The first is that Mattheve expressed a belief at some time during his transactions that the cargo had been taken unlawfully; or, secondly, that Mattheve was accused of having done so. The fact that Mattheve felt the need to re-enforce this denial is suspicious. Did he, at some point in his transactions, query the legitimacy of the items he was purchasing? It seems probable that at one point or another in his succession of purchases he would enquire with regards to the origins of the products he was acquiring.

Mattheve’s deposition on its own is not sufficient to build a complete case against privateering in the case of the *Anne*. The deposition of merchant Simon Malowne of Manchester provides further fuel to the fire when considering the possible charge of piracy. Malowne’s bold declaration states that he is acting on behalf of the true owners of the *Anne* and that he had come to England with the order for the restitution of the ship and her goods from the Privy Council.⁵¹⁵ His claims to represent the owners of the *Anne* are further verified

⁵¹³ Deposition of William Mattheve, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/27/ ff298-9.

⁵¹⁴ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/27/ ff298-9.

⁵¹⁵ Deposition of Simon Malowne, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/27/ff305-6v.

by the deposition of one London Gentleman, Nicholas Wise. Wise's statement was provided on the same day, on 19 February 1589.⁵¹⁶

According to the deposition of February 1589, Malowne had heard that the 'articulate Fulford' possessed a warrant against some Frenchmen and that 'in the ship, the *Grace [of God]*, he committed many spoils on the subjects of her majesty and her friends.'⁵¹⁷ Malowne effectively accuses Fulford of waving a warrant, or what defines itself as a Letter of Reprisal, in order to pirate vessels indiscriminately. As discussed, it was a fine line between privateering and piracy. Many captains found the allure of plunder too much of a temptation to walk that line. This was proven true for many nationalities as highlighted by a correspondence to Lord Burghley from the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir John Perrot. The letter dated 17 March, 1592 discusses not only a privateer but a Spanish Admiral with a penchant for plunder. Perrot writes,

Their general [admiral] called the Adelantado, was deeply charged by the King and his Council, for that he hath lost too many of his men, in laying the English ships aboard, which were last taken within the said straits, which they say he hath done for his own private gain, to come by the spoil of the said ships and goods; wherefore he is commanded henceforth [to] not put his men in danger to board their ships anymore, but to sink them with their gallies [sic] if they would not otherwise yield.⁵¹⁸

Like piracy, privateering was perceived as a possible path to potentially quick wealth. Unlike piracy, privateering masters and crew had an excuse. Privateers were granted their authority from the Lord Admiral, such as that through Letters of Reprisal. Privateering captains may have represented the pinnacle of power on their ships and were sanctioned by the Crown to

⁵¹⁶ Wise states that 'This examine, together with Simon Malowne, was appointed by John Malowne to recover the wheat and other goods taken by captain Fulford.' Depositions of Nicholas Wise, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/27/ ff306v-7v.

⁵¹⁷ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/27/ ff305-6v.

⁵¹⁸ *CSPI, 1586-1588*, 437.

assist in activities that would aid the war-time efforts, however they did not hold the same authority that naval commanders had. Captains and crews who failed to adhere to the terms and conditions of their commissions were prosecuted in the High Court of Admiralty; that is if they were caught.

In the case of Fulford, Malowne's testimony continued, expressing his opinion that the *Anne* was initially bound for La Rochelle, a sea port on the Bay of Biscay, and not to Bilbao at all. Malowne also stated that the *Anne* was carrying certificates from the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir John Perrot.⁵¹⁹ The information provided in Malowne's testimony demanded that the case of the *Anne* be reconsidered and it initiated a lasting judicial interest. The High Court continued to keep the case open, recording new depositions in May 1589. The first of these depositions was that of mariner John Stronge. Stronge identified himself as master's mate 'with Andrew Fulford' aboard the *Grace of God* 'in her majesty's service,' when the *Anne* of Dublin was taken. Stronge's careful wording in his introduction is evidence of his eagerness to prove his actions legal and justifiable by the crown.⁵²⁰ Stronge's testimony echoes that of Dolberre's in stating that upon the capture of the *Anne* the company aboard 'confessed they were bound to Bilbao'. Stronge then continued to list the cargo from the ship and what his share of the booty was and what that share's monetary value equated to.⁵²¹ The case of the *Anne* therefore, again, assumes the appearance of privateering according to Stronge.

⁵¹⁹ It should be noted that Malowne mentions another act of depredation during his February deposition. 'He believes that William Pitts, a known pirate, robbed a bark off Helbry in May last, as she was bound for Dublin with a cargo of yarn, iron and other goods which belonged to John Malowne and others of Dublin. And Robert Panting, one of the owners of the goods, went to Clovelly where he found many of them sold and dispersed, but compounded with Pitts for the remainder.' PRO H.C.A. MS 13/27/ ff305-6v. This example, though not directly related to the *Anne*, is likely provided to highlight the string of misfortunes the merchant investors have dealt with and the prolific activity of illegal sale of cargoes.

⁵²⁰ Deposition of John Stronge, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/27/ ff362-2v.

⁵²¹ Stronge's description of the *Anne*'s cargo listed: '600 bushels of wheat, 550 dickers of tanned leather, 30 dickers of raw hides, 2 pieces of wax, and 'a barrel or two of tallow.' According to Stronge, he received 'six shares of the said goods, which came to 12s. 6d. a share.' PRO H.C.A. MS 13/27/ ff362-2v.

For consideration also is the deposition of Richard Simondes of Devon, whose testimony was provided seven years after the original depositions that ignited the controversial case of the *Anne*. In the testimony dated 8 February 1596, Simondes states that he heard Walter Edney ‘say that he took the Irish ship and goods in question from the possession of Spaniards, and that Sir Francis Drake urged him to take the same as lawful prize.’⁵²² It should be noted that Richard Simondes was also the brother-in-law of Walter Edney.⁵²³ It is possible that Simondes thought by name-dropping Sir Francis Drake into a deposition it would seal the fate of the *Anne* in favour of Andrew Fulford and the crew of the *Grace of God*. Yet this was not the only deposition relating to the case in which Drake is evoked; Sir Francis Drake’s name was called upon in favour of the *Anne* of Dublin in another deposition soon after.

The March 1596 deposition of merchant Nicholas Wise of London states

The Irish ship was re-captured by captain Andrew Fulford, in the *Grace [of God]* and brought to Sir Francis Drake who ordered that she be brought to England for the Irish owners. Contrary to commandment the ship was brought into Torbay where the ship and goods were sold by Fulford and Edney (owner of the *Grace [of God]*) without any order or authority.⁵²⁴

The case of the *Anne* vacillates between privateering and piratical depredation. With the evidence provided in the various depositions, the case however tends to suggest that Captain Fulford was taking advantage of his privateering status, and committing piracy under its guise. Initially, the depositions appear fairly uniform in offering an argument for either case.

⁵²² Deposition of Richard Simondes, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/32/ ff63v-4v.

⁵²³ This information is disclosed in a further deposition by Thomas Bromfield of London. ‘This examine was a servant to Richard Simondes who was the brother-in-law of Edney.’ 1 March 1596. Deposition of Thomas Bromfield, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/32/ ff78-8v.

⁵²⁴ Torbay in London, not to be confused with Torquay, Cornwall. 10 March 1596. Deposition of Nicholas Wise, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/32/ ff 85v-6.

It is the deposition by Walter Edney's brother-in-law that provides a nail in the coffin for Andrew Fulford and his crew.

In his statement, Richard Simondes details a number of legal discussions that took place between Edney, then a prisoner on Tower Hill, and the plaintiffs who were representing the merchants of the *Anne*.⁵²⁵ Simondes states that,

In January, 31 Elizabeth, the said Edney was in prison at Mr. Swifte's house on Tower Hill at the suit of one Malowne and others, concerning the capture of an Irish ship laden with wheat and leather. And the said suit was followed by Nicholas Wise. And about the same time the said Edney came to this examine's house and brought with him Wise and one Malowne, and there they informed him that if he would assign over to their uses one obligation which he then had from William Michelott and Augustine de Bealewe of £250, for payment of a less sum then the said Edney and his company should be released against the owners of that ship and goods for any offence done in the taking thereof.⁵²⁶

Fear aside, why would Edney, if innocent as claimed, wish to make a private settlement with the owners of the *Anne*? If the *Anne* had been trading with the enemy (as declared in John Dolberre's statement) and if Sir Francis Drake had given his blessing to Fulford and Edney to claim the *Anne* as a prize (as Simondes deposition recorded), then surely Edney would have not needed to reach a settlement with the original owners of the *Anne*. The *Anne* would have been a prize of legitimate reprisal and the loss on the original owners would be a casualty of war.

⁵²⁵ Tower Hill most likely here refers to that in relation to the Tower of London. The peak period of the castle's use as a prison was during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when many figures that had fallen into disgrace were held within.

⁵²⁶ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/32/ ff63v-4v.

The case of the *Anne* is another prime example of the complications of identifying privateering versus piracy. What originally began as a privateering venture quickly diverted to serve piratical gain. Whether forcible violence was used or not is unknown, as there is no detailed mention of the type of interaction between Fulford and Edney's crew and the sailing crew of the *Anne*. However, evidence shows that the *Anne* was robbed of her goods against the will of her crew and the vessel's cargo was sold illegally to a willing market.

The buyers of the stolen merchandise displayed a careful manipulation of the truth in the wording of their depositions to insure their own innocence. Through feigning ignorance, by mentioning prominent figures that were also involved with the goods, as well as pointing out that 'Tenths' had been paid on the merchandise, Alreddie, Dolberre and Mattheuwe attempt to create an impression of legality of their purchases. However, the depositions of these men remain neutral in their treatment of Fulford and Edney. There is a complete lack of support for the men of the *Grace of God* and yet there is no accusation either. It is likely that during the early stages of the case the men sought to emphasise their innocence, but also to maintain a good standing with the suppliers of their goods. Had the case of the *Anne* ended in favour of the privateers, their neutrality could enable them to continue to do business with the men of the *Grace of God*. The buying and selling of stolen cargoes was, after all, a lucrative business for both parties.

If the case of the *Anne* was a simple case of privateering misidentified, undoubtedly the buyer-seller relationship that existed between the merchants in Devon and Fulford and Edney would have continued to prosper between both parties. Yet according to Simonde's last deposition, this union would not end on as prosperous a note as it had started. Simonde's deposition reveals,

perceiving the agreement was only to discharge Edney and his company, [Simonde] expostulated with Wise and Malowne about what should become of them that had bought the said goods, and whether they meant to have any recourse in law against them. And they answered it was their meaning. Thereunto this examine replied that if they did so, then the composition with Edney and company would be of little value, for they who had bought the goods would have recourse by action upon them for the recovery of the value of the goods.⁵²⁷

The case of the *Anne* has no extant resolution and any outcome of the conflict relies heavily upon speculation from the evidence provided over a time period of a year through several depositions. The final deposition of Simonde's is most illuminating in suggesting a possible conclusion. By 8 February 1596, Edney had started private negotiations with the representatives of the *Anne*. If Edney had firmly believed himself to be innocent there should have been no need for such action, and a counter case could have been submitted to the High Court. However, with the evidence in place against the crew of the *Grace of God*, Edney most likely recognised the stigma and dangers of being proclaimed a pirate.

It is thus reasonable to conclude that the trial ended favourably towards the *Anne*. This does not suggest, however, that the *Anne*'s owners were paid back the full amount lost. Simonde's deposition illustrates the difficulties in retrieving funds to pay back such recourse. One further note on the gentlemen of fortune from this case is that neither the name Fulford nor Edney are found again in the High Court of Admiralty papers during the sixteenth century. This can suggest one of two possible conclusions, either the men mended their ways and stuck to unadulterated privateering, or perhaps they were just more careful in the future to not get caught.

⁵²⁷ Ibid.

The Deposition of Richard Brinnegan and *Nicholas Bonadventure*

The case of the *Nicholas Bonadventure*, a ship of Wexford, is set apart from all the other cases discussed hitherto by virtue of the range of contemporary perspectives which have survived. We are told the story of piracy and sale of stolen cargo from the perspectives of those involved with the ship that was pirated, the ship that did the pirating and the merchants that partook in the buying of the stolen goods. By assessing the case from these perspectives a clear picture of who really gains and who loses in the game of piracy is made clear because the different perspectives can be compared. The case of the *Nicholas Bonadventure*, furthermore, provides insight into sixteenth-century minds by addressing the three topics of money, politics and religion.

From the many depositions, the first of which is dated 18 March 1598, the story of the *Nicholas Bonadventure* and her cargo can be traced from the start of her journey to her unexpected end. The 70-ton ship was owned by Nicholas Hay and Denis Hay of Wexford.⁵²⁸ From the testimonies provided, it is clear that several of the crew were men that came from the same town.⁵²⁹ In regards to the vessel in general, the *Nicholas Bonadventure* was ‘laden with 2,500 salt hides, 400-500 goat skins, about 1,500 calf skins, about 6 packs of dry hides (every pack containing 24 hides), 17 or 18 barrels of tallow, 2,000 pipestaves and 2 hogsheads of pitch’ in a port of Co. Limerick.⁵³⁰

The cargo belonged to several resident merchants of Limerick, including Patrick Arthur, Richard Arthur⁵³¹ and Thomas Burghe, the latter of which served as chief

⁵²⁸ Deposition of Richard Brinnegan, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 33v-4.

⁵²⁹ 18 March 1598. See Depositions of Richard Brinnegan, Patrick Siggrin, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 34-4v and Hector Hay, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/f34.

⁵³⁰ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 33v-4.

⁵³¹ This is likely the same Richard Arthur listed as the High Sheriff of Limerick. The Sheriff of Limerick, besides his judicial role, was also involved with ceremonial and administrative functions and executed High Court Writs. Alexander G. Glover, *The Administration of Justice in Criminal Matters: In England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 89.

representative among them.⁵³² At the time the cargo was loaded, it had been, according to mariner Richard Brinnegan, ‘consigned to Lisbon to be sold there by Burghe, who when in the ship, for the use of himself and his partners.’⁵³³ All three merchants departed the port at Limerick along with their cargo aboard the *Nicholas Bonadventure*, although the precise date is not given in the depositions. While the *Nicholas Bonadventure* was en-route to Lisbon, Portugal, she was pursued and forcibly taken by the caravel the *Panther* of Little Hampton in England, off the isles of Bayona on 11 December 1597.⁵³⁴

The *Panther* belonged to Sir Thomas Palmer, James Boothe, and Thomas, Richard and Anthony Ersfield.⁵³⁵ Later depositions often refer to ‘captain Ersfield of the *Panther*’ who may be one of the brothers named above.⁵³⁶ The name Ersfield appears in another document of the same period. In a letter to captain Ersfield dated 1598, found among the Cecil Papers, Ersfield is admonished for refusing to deal with the problem of a ship which port officials believed was landing goods secretly or consorting with pirates. As captain he would have been expected to represent the matter before local authorities, or, in an extreme situation, he may have been expected to play the role of ‘pirate hunter’. It is possible that this Ersfield was the same as the captain of the *Panther* who pirated the *Nicholas Bonadventure* and sold her goods, however this link cannot be proven with the extant documentation.⁵³⁷

According to the 20 May 1598 deposition of yeoman William Giles, the *Panther* was at complete authority to take the *Nicholas Bonadventure*. Giles insists that ‘At their going to sea sir Thomas Palmer and Mr Boothe took upon them to procure a commission from the lord

⁵³² PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 33v-4.

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.; PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/f34.

⁵³⁵ 10 June 1598. ‘This examine went to sea with captain Ersfield as lieutenant of a carvel called the *Panther* of Arundel belonging to Sir Thomas Palmer, James Boothe, and Thomas, Richard and Anthony Ersfield.’ Deposition of William Giles, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ ff 93v-5v.

⁵³⁶ See Deposition of Edmond Undershill, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ ff 74v-5v; Deposition of Richard Barry, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ ff 76-6v, and Deposition of Edward Hill, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ ff 77v-8.

⁵³⁷ ‘Cecil Papers: Miscellaneous 1605’, *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House, Volume 17: 1605* (1938), 570-649, accessed March 26, 2013, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=112256>.

admiral.’⁵³⁸ He follows this however with ‘whether any was procured or not’ he ‘did not know’,⁵³⁹ a quick remark pointedly stated to clear him from any wrong doing by claiming ignorance, a tactic demonstrated earlier in the case of the *Anne*. According to Giles, ‘Sailing southward between the Northern Cape and the Isles of Bayone, they took the *Nicholas Bonadventure* as lawful prize for she was going to the enemy with prohibited wares.’⁵⁴⁰

Captain Ersfield had some cargo transferred from the hold of the *Nicholas Bonadventure* to the hold of the *Panther* at this time.⁵⁴¹ Nearly a month later, sometime around 11 January 1598, while still in captivity, the *Nicholas Bonadventure* was joined by a second ship that had been captured by the *Panther*.⁵⁴² While the *Panther* and her prize were sailing ‘100 leagues off the Cape, they met and boarded the *Hopewell* of Dublin coming out of Spain laden with sack, oranges, and lemons.’⁵⁴³ The *Hopewell* was detained with ‘her lading’⁵⁴⁴ for some thirteen or fourteen days, in which time six or seven butts of wine were put into the carvel.’⁵⁴⁵ During the time that the *Hopewell* was detained, a further ship, the *Darling* of South Hampton, England, engaged the now small fleet.⁵⁴⁶

According to the deposition of mariner William Dowle, who was serving aboard the *Darling*, the ship ‘gave chase to three ships on the coast of Spain. One was a ship of Arundel (captain Ersfield) with two prizes, both Irish ships, one laden with beef, tallow and hides,

⁵³⁸ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ ff 93v-5v.

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁴¹ The deposition of Richard Brinnegan states, ‘The captain thereof caused as many sacks of dry leather and other goods to be put into the carvel as could be stowed in the same.’ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 33v-4.

⁵⁴² An exact date is not provided for this event as the deposition merely states ‘about a month later’, therefore, it is safe to conclude the date of 11 January 1598. PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ ff 93v-5v.

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁴ Originating between 1490 and 1500, Lading by definition is to put (something) on or in, as a burden, load, freight or cargo.

⁵⁴⁵ Though not entirely clear, Giles’s deposition suggests that wine was also loaded into the *Nicholas Bonadventure* and into the *Darling* (a ship belonging to Sir Walter Raleigh). Ibid.

⁵⁴⁶ According to the deposition of William Giles, the *Darling* was a ‘pinnacle of Sir Walter Raleigh’s’. PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ ff 93v-5v. Sir Walter Raleigh was an English aristocrat, writer, poet, soldier, spy and explorer. Raleigh had an estate at Sherborne, Dorset. In 1597 Raleigh was chosen member of parliament for Dorset. Edward Edwards, *The life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, Vol. I (London: Macmillan, 1868).

bound for Spain, the other laden with wines, coming from Spain.’⁵⁴⁷ Dowle’s account concluded with the *Darling* purchasing three butts of wine ‘out of the Irish ship’ for which its company paid the sum of £15. Shortly after the wine had been transferred, the *Hopewell* was granted its freedom and was allowed to depart. The language used by Dowle is notable in the use of the phrase ‘gave chase to’ which implies that the *Panther* fled from the *Darling* upon initial sight.⁵⁴⁸ A couple of theories as to why that may have been the case include a general war-time instinct to put distance between a vessel and an unknown possible enemy vessel. The second theory is that the *Panther* was engaged in piratical behaviour and did not wish to be identified. Whatever the case, the *Darling* eventually caught up with the *Panther* and was happy enough to purchase wine from her out of the *Hopewell*.

The *Nicholas Bonadventure* with Captain Ersfield aboard her parted from the *Panther*. The *Panther* sailed onward to Brest, in Brittany. Once in port, the crew sold all that was aboard her which included, ‘100 hides or thereabouts, 20-30 barrels of goatskins and 5 butts of wines.’⁵⁴⁹ But the sale of the stolen cargo did not end as expected for the company of the *Panther*. Before the sale of the skins, the *Hopewell* was forced into Brest by ‘foul weather’. Soon after the arrival of the recently pirated *Hopewell* the company of the *Panther* were delivered to the Irish merchants in Brest by appointment of the governor there.⁵⁵⁰ The company was then brought to Ireland and sent onward to the High Court of Admiralty with the purpose to provide testimony and face charges in relation to the unlawful seizure of the *Nicholas Bonadventure* as well as the cargo of the *Hopewell*.

While the crew of the *Panther* were in Brittany, the *Nicholas Bonadventure* sailed to England. Richard Brinnegan described the situation as, ‘the captain [Ersfield] possessed

⁵⁴⁷ Deposition of William Dowle, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ ff93-3v.

⁵⁴⁸ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ ff93-3v.

⁵⁴⁹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ ff 93v-5v.

⁵⁵⁰ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 33v-4.

himself of the said ship and goods, and disposed of them at his pleasure.’⁵⁵¹ It is possible to trace the disposed goods and the *Nicholas Bonadventure* to Hampshire and West Sussex by drawing on evidence from the depositions provided from merchants in those counties. The depositions of seven merchants trace the hijacked merchandise of the *Nicholas Bonadventure* back to Ersfield.

According to the statement of tanner George Jones of Emsworth of Hampshire, captain Ersfield hired a man by the name of Harvey, a ‘sometime tanner’, to help unload the ship, the *Nicholas Bonadventure*, and to spread ‘word to the tanners in the country to come and buy’ the hides he had to offer.⁵⁵² Jones admits to having bought ‘22 salted hides’ from the gentlemen, Harvey.⁵⁵³ Having found hands to help clear out the *Nicholas Bonadventure*’s cargo and to spread word of sale, Ersfield would have no problem purging his hands of the stolen goods and in a fairly quick manner.

By all accounts, it seems that Ersfield was a clever enough man to try and make his sale appear legitimate under English law as illustrated in the deposition of Edward Hill of Chichester, Sussex.⁵⁵⁴ According to Hill, Captain Ersfield ‘came to Ichenor in the *Nicholas Bonadventure*’.⁵⁵⁵ Ersfield then sought out Hill because he was the customs official for that district. Ersfield ‘made entry of 1,000 Irish hides, 15 dozen goatskins, 8 barrels of tallow and 1,000 pipestaves’.⁵⁵⁶ Hill acknowledged to the High Court that, at that time, he received ‘198 salted hides, in satisfaction of £18 8s. 2d. due for her majesty’s customs.’⁵⁵⁷ He further elucidates that from these hides he ‘sold 138 hides to William Alderton for £22, 50 hides to Randall Seale for £9, and 10 more to Edward Woodgate of Kent’ for an undisclosed amount.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵⁵² 22 May 1598. Deposition of George Jones, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 77-7v.

⁵⁵³ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 77-7v.

⁵⁵⁴ 26 May 1598. Deposition of Edward Hill (or Hilles), PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff77v-8.

⁵⁵⁵ Ichenor most likely refers to West Itchenor, a village and civil parish in the Chichester district of West Sussex, England.

⁵⁵⁶ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff77v-8.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

Furthermore, according to Hill, it was only brought to his attention that the goods were claimed by Irishmen as unrightfully seized after he had already taken them and sold them on. So through his ignorance he could not be held responsible for any illegal trade.⁵⁵⁸

One of Hill's customers was William Alderton.⁵⁵⁹ Alderton admitted he had received hides from Hill. In his statement, Alderton also identified Ersfield by name, revealing that he had heard 'Ersfield brought a prize to Chichester... laden with some Irish hides and wines.'⁵⁶⁰ He is quick to assert his ignorance as to where the cargo may have ended up. His testimony further revealed that 'about a fortnight before Easter last' he bought from Edward Hilles, [sic] of Chichester, 138 salt Irish hides, for which he was to pay £22.⁵⁶¹ Again, Alderton's statement insists that prior to the sale, Hill informed him 'that he had received the hides for her majesty's custom out of a ship brought in by one Ersfield, near Chichester.' Shortly after the purchase of the hides, Alderton says he 'was arrested by a commission' from the High Court of Admiralty 'for the hides bought of the said Hilles'. Alderton's testimony asserts his innocence by pleading ignorance of the origin of the hides bought from Ersfield, and that of Hills, by affirming that Hill received the Queen's tenth of what was presented as fair cargo. This is precisely the same scenario that played out in the depositions in regards to the case of the *Anne*. It may be assumed that to some extent feigning ignorance helped some escape punishment, for if the port master or customs official approved a sale of merchandise why should one doubt its legitimacy? This, then, is a perfect example whereby the responsibility is passed on to someone 'higher up'.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁹ 'William Alderton of Kirdford, tanner, where he had lived about 34 years, and where he was born. Aged about 34 years. Witness: signature.' Chichester Diocese Episcopall Records [Ep/1/10-Ep/1/19] Deposition Book ep/1/11/12 *November 1611- January 1618* West Sussex Record Office.

⁵⁶⁰ 17 May 1598. Deposition of William Alderton, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 70-1.

⁵⁶¹ Easter fell on March 22 in 1598. The date in reference, therefore, is 10 March 1598. PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 70-1.

The hides in question were not only received on the ‘Queen’s behalf’, as another deposition in conjunction with the stolen cargo points out, but some hides were taken on the ‘Lord Admiral’s behalf’ as well. The deposition of merchant Patrick Galwaye of Cork describes his stay in Chichester when the sales of the recently pilfered cargo were still on offer. According to Galwaye, he was present when a fellow resident, William Streech, charged John Younge with accepting stolen goods.⁵⁶² Younge ‘answered that he had received about 300 hides for the lord admiral’s tenths, and for his use, and had them in his hands.’⁵⁶³ Younge however did not hold onto the goods for long and, according to Galwaye’s deposition, sold the hides to tanners within two months of possession.

Some of the deposition buyers simply bought hides from Ersfield instead of going through a third party. No tenths are mentioned in these sales. For example, tanner Edmond Undershill of Chichester stated that he purchased ‘120 salt hides off Ersfield for which he paid 3s. a piece’.⁵⁶⁴ Not every purchase of the *Nicholas Bonadventure*’s stolen cargo can be traced as easily and directly. For instance, the deposition of William Beecham, a tanner from Winchester in Hampshire, claims that his servant, Thomas Bunche, bought 100 salted hides at Chichester around Lent from the ‘said Ersfield at 3s. 6d. per hide,’ though as a master Beecham is directly responsible for his servant and would likely be held just as responsible for the transaction as his servant would be.⁵⁶⁵

The second half of Beecham’s statement relates that he bought ‘off Lambert Peache at Southwicke fair,’⁵⁶⁶ about mid-Lent last, 59 salt hides for which he paid 4s. 4d. per hide.’⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶² 14 December, 1598. ‘That this examine was at Chichester about Easter last with William Streech, and was present when the latter charged John Younge with having received a great part of the hides taken by captain Ersfield in the *Nicholas Bonadventure*.’ Deposition of Patrick Galwaye, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ f 250v.

⁵⁶³ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ f 250v.

⁵⁶⁴ 19 May 1598. Deposition of Edmond Undershill, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 74v-5v.

⁵⁶⁵ 20 May 1598. Deposition of William Beecham, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 75v-6.

⁵⁶⁶ Southwicke Fair appears to have been a market in place from the early thirteenth century. ‘Numerous liberties and immunities, together with free warren in their demesne lands of Southwick, were granted to the prior and consent in 1320 and 1445... A fair, together with a weekly market, was granted to the

The second statement that Beecham makes in his 20th of May deposition does not immediately alert the reader to ill-gained goods unless examined in conjunction with an additional deposition by Richard Barry, another tanner of Hampshire.

In Barry's deposition he firmly denied buying 'or receiving, any hides or other goods off captain Erfield [sic].'⁵⁶⁸ In his statement, however, Barry continued to mention that he was aware of one Lambert Peache who 'brought 59 salted hides to Fareham which he sold to William Beecham. And he knows that the said Peache brought about 100 salted hides to Gosport [on the south coast of England] which were carried to Romsey and sold to tanners there.'⁵⁶⁹ The events described in Barry's testimony highlight the path of the stolen goods as they travelled hand to hand, starting with Captain Erfield and eventually ending up with, and incriminating, William Beecham. Beecham may genuinely have been unaware of the origins of the salt hides he was investing in. Unfortunately for him, both purchases were linked to Captain Erfield and therefore to pirated goods. Merchants and buyers, each trying to make a wage or save a little, suddenly find themselves embroiled in a conflict of ownership rights. In this particular case it would seem that piracy did not pay off for them, had Erfield been successful however and gotten away with the plunder, the Chichester market would have thrived from the investment.

Just as the sale of the stolen cargo can be traced, the final location of the *Nicholas Bonadventure* can be identified from the depositions. The claimant that spotted the ship is an entirely new participant in the case of the *Nicholas Bonadventure*. The deposition given by merchant Clemence Garratt of Southampton creates an even more complex story surrounding

priory by charter of 18 April, 1235.' William Page, 'Parishes: Southwick', *A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 3* (1908), 161-5, accessed March 26, 2013, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=41949>.

⁵⁶⁷ Mid-lent would refer to sometime in the middle of the 45 days that lead up to Easter. Therefore, the reference to the date of Beecham's deposition pertains to a period possibly around the first week of March 1598.

⁵⁶⁸ 20 May 1598. Deposition of Richard Barry, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 76-6v.

⁵⁶⁹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 76-6v.

the *Nicholas Bonadventure* by stating that the ship was never rightfully the *Nicholas Bonadventure* of Wexford in the first place, but was actually the *Lion* of St Valery.⁵⁷⁰ According to the deposition recorded on 23 June 1598, Garratt explained that two years prior, in 1596, he had met a man by the name of Roman Bradfere of St Valery or Saint-Valery-sur-Somme in the north of France. Bradfere was master and quarter-owner of the sailing vessel the *Lion*. After she had been filled with salt and taken to the sea for trade, the *Lion* was taken by ‘captain Cotten, one Jones and their consorts, English pirates’.⁵⁷¹ Bradfere had urged Garratt to ‘find and recover’ the *Lion* as well as secure her cargo of salt.

While Garratt was passing through Barnstaple, a river port in Devon, he caught word that the *Lion* was in a port in Kinsale. Following the reports, Garratt immediately found passage to the city of Waterford. There he discovered that the ship lay at Youghal.⁵⁷² Not only did he learn that the ship was in a port there but Nicholas and Denis Hay of Wexford had bought the *Lion* from William Clavell who was then the vice-admiral of Munster. Richard Brinnegan’s earlier deposition confirms that the ship was brought into Youghal, ‘the *Nicholas Bonadventure* is of 70 tons burden and was bought off an Englishman at Youghal who had taken the ship at sea as a prize.’⁵⁷³ As such, the *Nicholas Bonadventure* had started as a prize and ended a prize.

As the prize ship lay in the harbour at Youghal, Garratt had the ship arrested by the Mayor. Garratt went to the ship with the intention of verifying that the ship was the *Lion*. According to him, ‘by the tokens and signs’ which Roman Bradfere had given him, ‘he knew that it was the same ship, although the said Nicholas and Denis Hay cut off the head of the

⁵⁷⁰ Deposition of Clemence Garratt, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 98v-9v.

⁵⁷¹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 98v-9v.

⁵⁷² Ibid.

⁵⁷³ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 33v-4.

ship and altered her upper building so that she should not be known.’⁵⁷⁴ To add fuel to his fiery argument, Garratt informed the court that not only was the ship the same, but that before he had officially arrested Denis and Nicholas Hay, they offered Garratt up to £30, ‘to give them authority to enjoy the ship’. Garratt refused the offer.⁵⁷⁵

Garratt’s testimony further endeavours to prove that the *Nicholas Bonadventure* and the *Lion* are one and the same ship by highlighting to the High Court that after he had made a claim to the ship, Denis and Nicholas Hay had him arrested ‘upon an action of £600 in Youghal, thereby thinking to enforce him to leave off the recovery of the ship.’⁵⁷⁶ Garratt was able to prove his innocence and countered the efforts made by Denis and Nicholas Hay. He refused to give up the ship to their use. When the Hays realised their efforts in Youghal were getting nowhere, the pair travelled to Dublin where they were able to procure a release of the ship. Returning to Youghal, almost as if to gloat, they sailed the *Lion/Nicholas Bonadventure* away.⁵⁷⁷ That was not to be the last time Garratt would see the ship, as he made clear in his final statement in which he reported that he had ‘seen the *Lion*, now called the *Nicholas Bonadventure* of Wexford, at Ichenor’; there he ‘caused her to be arrested by virtue of a commission’ from the High Court of Admiralty.⁵⁷⁸ In a bizarre chain of events, the story of the *Nicholas Bonadventure* comes to a fuller circle than originally anticipated from the depositions provided in March of 1598. The true ownership of the *Nicholas Bonadventure* comes into question as well as the identity of the actual victims in the case.

Returning to the capture of the *Nicholas Bonadventure* by the *Panther*, another question arises. Two separate depositions accuse the crew of the *Nicholas Bonadventure* of throwing ‘writings’ overboard into the sea during its siege by the *Panther*. Though the

⁵⁷⁴ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 98v-9v.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.; PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/f34.

⁵⁷⁸ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 98v-9v.

deposition of Brinnegan states that 'he knows of no letters or writings which were cast overboard' and has only heard by word of mouth that there had been any 'writings', the deposition of Mariner Hector Hay states, 'No writings were cast overboard, except for a popish book called an officium which was the merchants.'⁵⁷⁹

What importance could the accusation of throwing writings overboard have? If they had been official documents dealing with Spain, then the company of the *Nicholas Bonadventure* could have been more readily claimed as working with the enemy and therefore privateered. Furthermore, after the *Nicholas Bonadventure* was captured, Richard Brinnegan stated in his deposition that 'Burghe and another merchant, together with the master and six or seven sailors were put ashore at the Isles Bayona.'⁵⁸⁰ The men were left 'partly at their own consent for the captain would have brought them to England and they chose rather to be put ashore.'⁵⁸¹ It may be that the men chose to be put ashore rather than risk facing trial in England.

The race for expansion and exploitation in the New World had insured discord in Anglo-Spanish relations.⁵⁸² Had the ship been carrying any incriminating documents then the *Panther* would have been able to claim the attack as a noble service to the Crown. As Ersfield had made sure to pay the Queen's tenths on the ill-gotten goods, undoubtedly he hoped that by claiming, or pointing out, that writings had been cast over the side during the capture of the ship, more doubt would be shed on the *Nicholas Bonadventure*'s voyage and its ultimate destination.

⁵⁷⁹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/f34. A similar act is recorded in the Calendar of State Papers. The Lord Deputy encloses a letter to the privy council that states, 'Captain Fleming hath lately brought in a ship of Waterford because they threw overboard a packet of letters.' 17 May 1590. *CSPI, 1588-1592*, 344.

⁵⁸⁰ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/33/ff 33v-4.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid.

⁵⁸² Ken MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession in the English New World: The Legal Foundations of Empire, 1576-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), Chapter 2.

As stated above by Hector Hay, the only writing that was tossed overboard during the altercation between the two ships was a ‘popish book called an officium’. This book was the *Officium Divinum*, Divine office, or also known as *Liturgia Horarum*, Liturgy of the Hours. The book is the official set of daily prayers prescribed by the Catholic Church and contains mainly psalms supplemented by hymns and readings.⁵⁸³ If one of the merchants threw this book overboard, and assuming that there was nothing else tucked between its pages, he may have feared possible religious persecution. At the time of the Reformation in Ireland there were many that staunchly refused to accept the English monarch as head of the church. However, the evidence regarding fear of religious persecution in this case is uncertain.

As with the first case analysed, the case of the *Nicholas Bonadventure* indicates the contemporary nature of supply and demand. From the eager buying and selling of the salt hides across Chichester, the buying of wine at sea by the crew of the *Darling*, to the theft of an already stolen vessel, piracy was a lucrative business from which a number of parties could profit. While this particular venture ended in the High Court of Admiralty, many similar transactions must have taken place away from the eyes of the law.

It is vital to note the complications Clemence Garratt faced when trying to retrieve the *Nicholas Bonadventure* or *Lion*. It was not enough to secure the ship with the mayor in Youghal, as Denis and Nicholas Hay simply had the decision overruled by authorities in Dublin. This suggests that the authorities in Dublin viewed the situation as a conflict of interests over property rights only. It is also likely that Denis and Nicholas Hay omitted to mention that the vessel was a prize of a pirating venture. The conflicting decisions made by the Irish offices of government did little to help Garratt with his mission. Such

⁵⁸³ It is likely that the version of the *Officium Divinum* was a version promulgated by Pope Pius V. 9 July 1568 saw the creation of a new version of the *Officium Divinum*. This is known as the Roman Breviary and contains Pope Pius V’s *Quod a nobis*. Daria Sockey, *The Everyday Catholic’s Guide to the Liturgy of the Hours* (Cincinnati: St. Anthony Messenger Press, 2013), Introduction and Chapter 1.

inconsistencies in decisions regarding maritime edicts may have aided the lawlessness that thrived around Ireland's coastal port towns.

The Deposition of William Thackwell

William Thackwell's testimony illustrates the frustrations faced by 'law enforcements' when trying to pursue piracy. His deposition highlights the exasperating nature of the fluctuating reception pirates received in Ireland. According to his own testimony, Thackwell was 'sent into the west' in the summer of 1559 with a commission from the High Court of Admiralty.⁵⁸⁴ His mission was the inquisition and search for pirates 'as haunted the western coasts of England.'⁵⁸⁵ Thackwell was not the first to be sent to Ireland nor would he be the last. The Calendar of State Papers is peppered with incidents of requests for aid or of men being sent to deal with the Irish 'pirate problem' in the sixteenth century. For example, in January 1578 a Captain Hicks is employed to pursue a Scottish pirate Robinson, who had been haunting off the Irish coast.⁵⁸⁶ In March 1581, the navy was sent to Ireland to 'chase pirates' and, eight years later, in October 1589 the Lord Deputy suggested to the Privy Council that 'two or three barks should be sent to Waterford to protect the fishing and chase away pirates.'⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁴ Thackwell references 'the west'. This term often specifies the surrounding area of Bristol, England. Though the port of Bristol was difficult to traverse swiftly due to extreme tidal fluctuations, the area had a strong international trade economy, especially in tobacco. E.M. Carus-Wilson, (ed.), *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1967), 6-18. It is also possible, however, that 'the west' could be more widely applied to other parts of south-west England, which could include Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire and even Devon and Dorset and, therefore by association, Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly. This second more loose interpretation of 'the west' is much more applicable in this particular deposition.

⁵⁸⁵ An exact date is not recorded in the High Court papers. Thackwell's deposition states, 'That about summer last was five years this examine was sent into the west.' December 1564. Deposition of William Thackwell, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/15/ff 251-2v.

⁵⁸⁶ 16 January 1578. *CSPI, 1574-1585*, 128.

⁵⁸⁷ 22 March 1581. *Ibid.*, 294; *CSPI, 1588-1592*, 254; see also 12 June 1594. *CSPI, 1592-1596*, 250-3.

Little is recorded of Thackwell's personal life, though he is noted as 'landed gentry' in Burke's *Peerage*.⁵⁸⁸ The Thackwells were an established family in Worcester, England, where William Thackwell was born in 1486 and died in 1565, just a year after his appearance before the High Court of Admiralty as marshal of the court.⁵⁸⁹ According to Thackwell's statement, he had carried out his pirate hunting duties for 'three or four months' during which time the vice-admiral of Cornwall, William Lower, had various English and Scots pirates arrested and 'committed to Launceston gaol'.⁵⁹⁰ The gaol was a part of Launceston Castle or *Kastell Lannstefan*. The castle had a dubious reputation and was commonly known as *Castle Terrible* in the sixteenth century on account of the numbers that were tortured and executed there, especially around the time of the Prayer Book Rebellion.⁵⁹¹

The period in which Thackwell's actions would have taken place is in September or October 1559. Among the group of men arrested was Jamey Fobbe. Contrary to the castle's morbid reputation, in September or October of 1560, a year after his capture, Fobbe was released because no suit was filed against him.⁵⁹² Thackwell's deposition elucidated the ultimate folly of freeing Fobbe. The Admiralty marshal explained that around 11 April 1564 Fobbe joined company with 'one Blackeder and divers Scots and Englishmen' and robbed a hulk transporting a cargo of woad.⁵⁹³ They plundered another ship that was transporting salt

⁵⁸⁸ Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of landed Gentry of Great Britian and Ireland*, 4th ed. (London: Harrison, Pall Mall, 1863), 1493. See also James Macdonald, *Notes and Queries* 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1859), 67.

⁵⁸⁹ Burke states, 'The family of Thackwell is of Saxon origin, and has been seated in the counties off Worcester, Oxford and Gloucester, for several centuries. The station William Thackwell presents to the court is substantiated by Burkes account as well.' Burke, *A Genealogical...Landed Gentry*, 67.

⁵⁹⁰ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/15/ff 251-2v.

⁵⁹¹ Peter Herring and Bridget Gillard, *Cornwall and Scilly Urban Survey, Historic Characterisations for Regeneration: Launceston* (Truro, Cornwall: Historic Environment Service, 2005), 25. Samuel J. Rogal, *The Wesleys in Cornwall, 1743-1789: A Record of Their Activities Town by Town*, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Inc., 2015) 94.

⁵⁹² PRO H.C.A. MS 13/15/ff 251-2v.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.* Woad is a blue dye produced from the leaves of the *satis tinctoria*, originating from Central Asia and Siberia. As a source for dye, woad was cultivated across Europe during the late medieval period. John Edmonds, *The History of Woad and Medieval Woad Vat*, 3rd rept. (Raleigh: Lulu Press, 2006), 10,15 and 17.

as well as ‘divers other ships’ each in their turn.⁵⁹⁴ They left these ships devastated and turned their bows to Ireland. Upon arrival in ‘Dundawaak’ (Dundalk, County Louth), Fobbe sold the cargoes spoiled from the ships.

Thackwell recounted that the spoils included ‘woad, wine, salt, a bark, and other things’, making it apparent that the pirates did not just content themselves with cargo but with taking vessels as well.⁵⁹⁵ Thackwell illustrated the prolific trade in plundered goods stating ‘that one Alford and Money bought the bark and salt from Fobbe. And the ship now in the possession of William Jennett is the same which Fobbe spoiled, carried into Ireland, and sold to them.’⁵⁹⁶

Thackwell may have presented his information to the High Court as a follow up procedure after he travelled to Ireland with a commission from the High Court of Admiralty to make ‘inquisition of all pirates and their goods’.⁵⁹⁷ He also mentioned to the court that among other gentlemen of fortune, Fobbe was found and presented as a pirate to an inquest in Dublin. Thackwell’s report on the situation of piracy is not entirely objective or impersonal. His testimony conveys his own personal feeling towards pirates as well as an assessment of the Court of Admiralty. In regards to Fobbe, the previous decision of the Court was completely unsatisfactory to Thackwell and his current report to the Court was intended to insure that the situation did not happen again.

⁵⁹⁴ The deposition provides an approximate date stating ‘That about Easter last a year ago.’ Easter fell on 11 April in 1563 according to the Julian Calendar, since the Gregorian calendar would not be introduced until 1582 and, furthermore, not adopted by England until 1752. December 1564. PRO H.C.A. MS 13/15/ff 251-2v. There was no available information on ‘Blackeder’. The surname is rooted in Scotland and there are over 27 variant spellings for it of which 20 spellings are traced to the sixteenth century. George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland Their Origin, Meaning and History* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd., 2007), 828.

⁵⁹⁵ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/15/ff 251-2v. William Lower is mentioned in a letter with regards to another case of pirated goods. The letter dated 7 March 1571 simply address Lower in its opening greetings, ‘Lord Clynton High Admiral of England...from London William Lower esquire, his vice-admiral in Cornwall and adjacent maritime areas.’ Unfortunately, little in the presentation of this letter illustrates the arena of power in which Lower operated. The National Archive London- digital AR/15/13 7 March, 1571- Original documents at Cornwall Record Office.

⁵⁹⁶ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/15/ff 251-2v.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid.

Thackwell concludes his deposition stating that a verdict had already been passed on Fobbe in Ireland. 'The verdict or presentment exhibited was found and given up in this deponent's [Thackwell] sight by the oaths of sworn men of the city of Dublin, and is subscribed with the hand of the mayor and town clerk,'⁵⁹⁸ therefore insuring that Fobbe without a doubt had been found guilty. This case presented by Thackwell is less of a petition and more like a final report being handed in to a higher authority with perhaps a small jab at the High Court's failings at the same time.

Though this case is comprised solely of Thackwell's deposition, Fobbe was clearly a tenacious and enterprising gentleman of fortune. Not content with just barely getting away with crime, Fobbe clearly sought a quick fortune by pairing with other pirates. The point that stands out the most is the ready market for his items in Ireland. Thackwell states that they 'turned their bows to Ireland' when relating the prizes Fobbe took.⁵⁹⁹ Fobbe not only sold the cargoes but also the ships. As with the case of the *Nicholas Bonadventure*, it is possible to recover the values of traceable goods, however trying to chase a ship which spends months and years at sea is not as easy. The merchant's loss in this case was the buyer's gain.

As observed by Sir William Herbert in May of 1589, 'The province generally is made a receptacle of pirates. They are too much favoured in Kerry.'⁶⁰⁰ This statement has an air of resignation. Ireland was a willing market for pirated goods and therefore indirectly supported seaborne depredation. Thackwell's deposition illustrates this 'welcoming' atmosphere did not appear out of thin air at the turn of the seventeenth century, nor did the government consistently turn a blind eye to seaborne depredation. The numerous recorded requests for aid as well as names of recorded pirate hunters illustrates that piracy did not achieve a level of

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid..

⁶⁰⁰ 24 May 1589. *CSPI, 1588-1592*, 190-2.

freedom in Ireland comparable to that of Tortuga the pirates paradise, despite the social acceptance it received there.

The Deposition of Thomas White and the *Olyphant*

The following case introduces a prolific pirate who was active around the Irish Sea in the sixteenth century by the name of John Callice. In a narrative that provides warning to any man going to sea, the adage ‘choose wisely’ is clearly demonstrated. As a sailor, Thomas White was to learn that sailing alliances had advantages as well as disadvantages. Thomas White, alias Lacelott Greenewell, of Faversham Kent found his life to be in grave peril at the end of the summer in September 1575.⁶⁰¹ White worked as a sailor alongside William Allam of Plymouth. In his testimony to the High Court, White claimed that Allam had consorted with ‘a Callice and William Batts’ while in Cardiff and there it was decided that they would all sail their ships together.⁶⁰² Callice sailed in the *Olyphant* which was victualled by several gentlemen of Wales.⁶⁰³ The vessel White and Allam had set sail in ‘perished off the Scilly

⁶⁰¹ The deposition does not specify the date but provides an approximate date stating, ‘About Michaelmas last this examine.’ Michaelmas falls on 29 September. Deposition of Thomas White, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/22/ff 71-3. See also Deposition of Lancelott Greenewell *alias* Thomas White, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/22/ ff 81-3v.

⁶⁰² The William Batts mentioned in White’s deposition may be William Batts of Saltash, a parish of Cornwall. William sailed in the *William Bonadventure* carrying Letters of Marque issued by the King of Navarre. The *William Bonadventure* took prize of two French ships. Batts seized the cargos of the two vessels, consisting of Newfoundland fish, 2 pipes of Guinea grans (cochineal dye) and 600 elephants’ tusks - a booty which eventually ended up being handed over to Elizabeth I. No reference is provided for a date for this event. However, as it explicitly mentions Letters of Marque from the King of Navarre, Henry IV and Elizabeth I, it can be deduced that the *William Bonadventure* sailed sometime between 1572 and 1603. It is highly likely that the William Batts of the deposition above is the same as that which sailed on the *William Bonadventure*. A.L. Rowse, *The Expansion of Elizabethan England*, 2nd ed. (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 258-9.

⁶⁰³ 14 March 1576. Deposition of John Robarts, PRO H.C.A. 13/22 / ff 73-4. John Robarts is noted a ‘quarter victualler’ of the *Olyphant* alongside another gentleman by the name of William Harbert. The National Archive State Papers, Domestic Vol. 122, No. 2, 1577. ‘State Papers Domestic: 1565-1666’, *Cardiff Records: Volume 1* (1898), 347-368, accessed September 25, 2013, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>. John Robarts again is found facing English commissioners in the position of ‘Bailiff’. Robarts in this case receives a slap on the wrist for not executing his ‘office in the town of Cardyff’ by ‘permitting one Thomas Parry to transport butter into foreign realms’. This evidence might suggest that John Robarts may have had a propensity for involvement in misdemeanour crimes. Kalendar. 28 Elizabeth 1586. Pt 1. ‘Glamorgan Calendar Rolls and Gaol Files: 1542-94’, *Cardiff Records: Volume 2* (1900), 152-165, accessed September 25, 2013, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>. See also Gaol File. No. 6.2 and 3 Philip & Marie. 1555. ‘Glamorgan Calendar Rolls and Gaol Files: 1542-94’, *Cardiff Records: Volume 2* (1900), 152-65, accessed October 4, 2013, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>.

Isles', near the south-western tip of the Cornish peninsula, not long after the Journey began.⁶⁰⁴ Allam, along with eleven of his ship's company, perished in the wreck. As the ship sank, White was saved by one of Callice's crew and taken aboard the *Olyphant*. White did not remain on Callice's ship for long as he was soon transferred into a prize that was taken near the Scilly Isles. It should be noted that Callice was no stranger to taking ships as prize. He is also known, for example, to have taken a Biscayan vessel transporting a cargo of Spanish wool on a different occasion.⁶⁰⁵

Callice oversaw the journey of the ships to Ireland. As Callice's company sailed toward Cork they stopped off in Kinsale. Mention is made that 'William Batts gave some wools away in Kinsale to Lord Barry Hogg.'⁶⁰⁶ Barry 'Hogg' is probably Kinsale's very own Barry Óg, master of Ringcurran Castle. It is unsurprising that Barry Óg is mentioned in a possible piratical venture. Barry Óg was not a character to shy away from controversial interaction. In 1601, when the Spanish sent an armada to help O'Neill in the Ulster rebellion, Barry Óg offered Don Juan d'Aquila refuge in his castle.⁶⁰⁷

After making the gift of wool to Barry Óg the trio of ships continued. From Kinsale the ships sailed 'thence to a harbour further west, within a league of Castlehaven' the civil parish in Cork.⁶⁰⁸ The deposition of Christopher Horsum, a mariner, states that 'from Kinsale they sailed to Glandore', the 'harbour of gold' west of Cork.⁶⁰⁹ Seventeen sacks of wool were sold to the residents of Glandore.⁶¹⁰ Several sacks of Spanish wool were sold to a Mr. 'Eden', a resident of Glandore.⁶¹¹ Eden bought around ten packets for himself, 'the rest were sold to

⁶⁰⁴ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/22/ff 71-3.

⁶⁰⁵ Deposition of Christopher Horsum, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/22 /ff 76-80.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag*, 60.

⁶⁰⁸ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/22/ff 71-3.

⁶⁰⁹ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/22 /ff 76-80. This is Irish for Glandore Cuan D'Ór with the meaning 'harbour of the gold'. A. Weir, *Early Ireland. A Field Guide* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1980), 114-115.

⁶¹⁰ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/22 /ff 76-80.

⁶¹¹ Horsum's deposition explains that 'they sailed to Glandore, where on Eden dwells'. Ibid.

his friends one of whom dwells in Kinsale.’⁶¹² After the completion of sales in Glandore, Callice’s company made a return voyage in the *Olyphant* to the coast of Wales where ‘further goods were disposed of at Swansea and Cardiff.’⁶¹³

In Glandore, the Spanish wool fetched a fair price, selling for £3 a bag. However, Horsum’s deposition illustrates that there was no definite fixed price for the wool and that the type of illegal trade Callice conducted was based on mutual benefits. For example, the deposition states that the buyers in Glandore paid £3 ‘With a promise from the buyers that if Callice could sell the rest for more money, they were to answer the like price.’⁶¹⁴ Later, Callice’s company sold some wool in South Wales on their return for £4 per bag.⁶¹⁵

This bartering arrangement suggests that the buyers knew the true value of the discount they were receiving on the Spanish wool, but also understood that they had leverage in the purchase agreement, knowing that Callice would need to dispose of the pilfered goods with a fairly quick turnaround. The promise from this exchange also suggests that Callice was a frequent black market trader in the area. It appears that the buyers of the wool expected to see him again in the not too distant future. The Irish communities’ attitudes aided the continuation of seaborne depredation in European waters in return for cheap merchandise as well as familiarity, if not solidarity, with their suppliers.

Many of the commodities with which Callice traded were items of everyday use. There was nothing particularly exotic. This suggests that even the average person could occasionally collude with pirates. Separate documents show how Swansea-born Nicholas Herbart ‘hath received by his men from the piratts one m. of fish & a tonne of salte’ as well

⁶¹² Ibid.

⁶¹³ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/22/ff 71-3.

⁶¹⁴ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/22 /ff 76-80.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

as John ap John who ‘bought a Tonne of Wyne’ and ‘fishe’.⁶¹⁶ According to a calendar of the register of the Queen’s Majesty’s Council, Herbart was a Justice of the Peace in Glamorgan, but this obviously did not prevent him from fraternising with pirates for his own personal gain.⁶¹⁷ In a separate confession by a local brewer, John Thomas admitted that ‘he hath talked with Callice, and received of him ‘ij tonnes of salte, one m. dry fish, and iiil m. wett for which he delyueryd iiij tonne of beere.’⁶¹⁸ In this case, beer was the payment of choice for trade of common food staples.

While the depositions for the case of the *Olyphant* were being collected, Callice was unavailable for comment. The captain had sailed off. According to Nicholas Herbart, Callice ‘was bound to Newfoundland on a fishing voyage’ for, Herbart further comments, Callice had twelve months prior ‘victualled his ship for such a voyage’.⁶¹⁹ If Callice had indeed ‘gone fishing’ it was likely because he had enough experience to his name to know when to become scarce. The world still seemed a much bigger place in the sixteenth century. Perpetrators of sea-borne depredation were sometimes able to ‘get away’ with their dastardly deeds, purely because of the amount of trouble entailed in locating them.

Although John Callice was a repeat offender, there is little known about Callice’s early years. He was born in south-east Wales and later moved to London where he apprenticed and became a retailer and, eventually, a sailor. Callice joined the English navy in

⁶¹⁶ 2 January 1577. The National Archive State Papers, Domestic Vol. 122, No.2. 1577. ‘State Papers Domestic: 1565-1666’, *Cardiff Records: Volume 1* (1898), 347-68, accessed September 25, 2013, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>.

⁶¹⁷ “The names of all the Justices of Peace in the twelve shires of Wales at this present time 20th November...1581...Glamorgan:- Sir Edward Manxell, Sir Edward Stadling, Sir William Herbert...Nicholas Herbert.” Ralph Flenley, *A Calendar of the Register of the Queen’s Majesty’s Council in the Dominion and Principality of Wales and the Marches of the Same [1535] 1569-1591: From the Bodley MS. No. 904* (London: Society of Cymmrodorion, 1916), 142, 212-213, 237. See also P.W. Hasler, ed., *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1558-1603* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 1981). As Nicholas Herbert is noted as a Justice of Peace from as early as 1575, he would have been held answerable to the Crown. The position of Justice of Peace, while originally answerable to independent lords of Glamorgan, was from 1541 appointed and held accountable to the crown.

⁶¹⁸ ‘two tons of salt, One thousand dry fish, and 4 thousand wet [fish] for which he traded 4 tuns of beer.’ The National Archive State Papers, Domestic Vol. 122, No.2. 1577.

⁶¹⁹ Deposition of Nicholas Herbart, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/22 / ff83v-4.

1571.⁶²⁰ While in command of a royal vessel in 1574, he apprehended a merchantman of Italy and directly proceeded to sell the seized cargo to the highest bidder in Cardiff and Bristol without having received command or sanction to do so.⁶²¹ Finding privateering or piracy to be a lucrative career option, Callice spent the next four years commandeering ships and plundering them. At times he operated independently and on other occasions, as illustrated by the case of Thomas White, he worked jointly with other like-minded captains.⁶²²

Callice, however, did not evade justice forever and was eventually apprehended in May 1577. At that time he was charged with six major counts of piracy, some that had occurred near Cornwall, others from around France and as far as the Azores. He was also charged with several other petty crimes and Callice was sent to London to be imprisoned.⁶²³ At his trial, Callice was sentenced to death by hanging. The bounty from Callice's stolen cargoes had lined his pockets and those of several others along the way even if only for a brief time span. For some the economic benefits of piracy outweighed the risks which were a matter of life and death.

As noted above, Callice had developed a rapport with communities in Ireland. Callice was also well known in Wales where he often disposed of loot. The Justice of Peace, John Davies, wrote to Sir John Perrot in 1576 in an attempt to defend himself against charges of neglect in the prosecution of Callice. He wrote, 'In my Jorney homeward abowt carm'then I hard that he hadd passed thorowe carm'then towards cardiffe where he and many other pyrates (as it is comonly reported) are furnyshed, vittled, ayded, receaved and succored.'

⁶²⁰ Appleby *Under the Bloody Flag*, 13.

⁶²¹ Ibid., 145-7.

⁶²² Ibid., 19.

⁶²³ Ibid., 148.

Davies further states that the stolen cargos of Callice's prizes are 'openly sould in cardiffe and other places.'⁶²⁴

Callice's social and business connections crossed all classes.⁶²⁵ His acceptance in Cardiff society was exemplified on the 2nd of January 1577 when several men of Cardiff were examined at Hampton Court. For example, 'John ap John⁶²⁶ confessith to haue rec'd a caliuier gyvin to him by Callice. That he kept company with pirates in the town of Cardif, as generally all men there did.'⁶²⁷ However, others wanted to distance themselves from Callice as highlighted in a letter from the mayor of Haverfordwest to Sir John Perrot:

... you have sent unto me & other Justic's of peace & officers of this towne misliking with us and specially with me being mayor here that Callys [Callis] so notorious a pirate should be openly lodged & socoured amongst us... It may please the same to be advertized that as I am moste chardged so dyd I leaste knowe of his leving here and have of all other in this towne as lyttell cause to favor hym or any of his sorte.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁴ 'State Papers Domestic: 1565-1666', in *Cardiff Records: Volume 1*, ed. John Hobson Matthews (Cardiff, 1898), 347-68, accessed December 11, 2015, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cardiff-records/vol1/pp347-368>. Again, in another correspondence from two gentlemen, Fabyan Phiillips and Thomas Lewis, to the Privy Council from Cardiff is written, 'Our duties to yo' good Ll. humblie remembred. The choyse by yo' honors made of S^r John Perrott knight and vs for thexecuc'on of service here at cardiff for redresse of the greate disorders that haue happened in these p'ties vpon the Sea coastes by resorte of Pyratts was spedely signified both to S^r John Perrott and vs from her Ma[jes]ties counsaill in the Marches of Wales... we fynde a greate nomber of names of Pyratts discou'ed that have been receyved and lodged in thys Towne, and from whome many spoyles haue been had, but such is the frowardnes of the Inhabitants.' Ibid.

⁶²⁵ It should be noted that during Callice's time, Cardiff was a county town of Glamorgan. John Davies, *A History of Wales* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1994), 17-18.

⁶²⁶ Patronymic names changed from generation to generation. The person's baptismal name was linked by 'ap, ab', meaning 'son of', or 'ferch', which means 'daughter of' to the father's baptismal name. This could sometimes reach the seventh generation. For example, Ceredig son of Lewys would be Ceredig ap Lewys. See John Davies, Nigel Jenkins, et al. eds., *The Welsh Academy Encyclopedia of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), 838.

⁶²⁷ The confessions of the men of Cardiff had their examinations at Hampton Court before Mr Comptroller, Mr Secretary Wilson and Mr Dale. The National Archive State Papers, Domestic Vol. 122, No.2. 1577.

⁶²⁸ 'State Papers Domestic: 1565-1666', in *Cardiff Records: Volume 1*, ed. John Hobson Matthews (Cardiff, 1898), 347-68, accessed December 11, 2015, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cardiff-records/vol1/pp347-368>.

The mayor's disdain at being accused of associating with pirates is made clear in his correspondence. He also defended the reputation of his town by suggesting that the community gained nothing from Callice and his illegal dealings. Despite the professed hostility towards Callice by some, he was pardoned by Queen Elizabeth I in 1577. It seems that the English monarch was busy dealing with the Spanish and was willing to overlook Callice's exploits.⁶²⁹ Callice continued an active pirating lifestyle until his death in 1587.⁶³⁰

The case of Thomas White and the *Olyphant* gives an opportunity to assess more thoroughly who benefited and suffered from piracy in Ireland in the sixteenth century. Callice, the pirate who got away with it, was an obvious beneficiary, as were the willing buyers of pirate loot. The ones that lost out were the merchants whose goods were hijacked and as a consequence faced bankruptcy. The merchants and investors, however, could find some hope if they were successful in proving their losses to the Court of Admiralty for insurance purposes or by obtaining a Letter of Reprisal which would allow them to claim a prize of an offending country. Others who lost out included the captain and crew of the ship that was taken as a prize, who were left overpowered, defeated, and sometimes abandoned to face death. Alternatively, if they survived and returned from a failed venture, they faced a black mark on their reputation.

⁶²⁹ In July 1578, Callice was paroled and quickly fled back to sea working as a pilot for Sir Henry Knollys. Knollys initially sailed with Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition with the aim to plunder the Spanish Caribbean. However, Knollys and Callice chose not to be pirates of the Caribbean and, instead, attacked ships in English waters. From 1580, Callice pirated along the northern coasts, capturing two ships of Hamburg, Germany. Callice still chose Wales as his favourite destination spot, however, and often visited. On such a visit in August 1582 Callice was appointed captain of a vessel by William Fenner, who possessed a commission to arrest lawless pirates at sea. Sailing under the guise of justice, Callice plundered two Scottish ships in March 1583 and sold the cargo in Portsmouth. Callice kept one of the ships, the *Golden Chalice*, for his own use. Callice was unable to enjoy his new acquisition for very long as he was forced to abandon the *Golden Chalice* to avoid suspicion and arrest. Instead, in a good will gesture, the hijacked ship was given to Sir Humphrey Gilbert for his further expeditions, this time to Newfoundland. In 1584, during the height of the Armada affairs, William Fenner was commissioned to hunt and apprehend all Spanish and Portuguese ships. Callice, always looking for an advantage to 'legally' plunder, served as Fenner's lieutenant and, in December 1584, he assumed the position of captain on a French prize. The warship Callice was on was separated from Fenner's due to extreme winter storm conditions. For further reading on Callice see Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag*.

⁶³⁰ Callice was briefly arrested again in Ireland, but he did not remain on the island for long and documents indicate that he was soon found at sea again. However, Callice it seems no longer trusted his old haunts of Wales and Ireland for he no longer used them as havens. His center of operation moved to the Barbary States until his death in 1587. *Ibid.*, 186.

Callice was accepted as a pirate by various traders both in Wales and in Ireland.⁶³¹ The locals were as willing to buy his goods as he was as ready to part with them. The case of the *Olyphant* ends with piracy clearly favouring the buyer who bypassed import duties and secured a cheap deal. What at first seems a rather straight forward case of depredation at sea followed by the quick disposal of goods, transpires into a case of mass criminal abetting where entire communities become conspirators at all levels of society. This case also highlights the amount of piratical activity which took place during the tumultuous times of religious reform and struggle for political control. The case of Thomas White and John Callice is a lesson of ‘Merchant beware ... Buyer prepare’.

The Deposition of John Smith and the *Angell of Barkeley*

The case involving John Smith further illustrates the willingness of Irish ‘bargain hunters’ to purchase cargo from hijacked ships. However, in contrast to previous deponents, Smith does not plead innocence by ignorance, but argues his case with tact and careful word choice. In late September 1591, a 14-ton ship called the *Angell of Barkeley* from Gloucestershire crossed paths with a prize ship carrying a cargo full of hides and ginger in Crookhaven, Co. Cork.⁶³² William Davis, the master of the *Angell*, was hired by the company in possession of the prize to serve as a pilot for them in order to bring them safely to Bristol. It was during this

⁶³¹ It is difficult to firmly state what degree of acceptance Callice gained from locals in his regular ports of call. As previously illustrated, local mayors and authorities maintained that Callice acted within their realms of power unknown to them and they reacted to him with disdain. This could be a straight forward truth, or it could be a way of placating higher authorities. The same can be applied to people on a more local level; for example, Mathew White of Pennarth seems to have turned ‘snitch’ when called to an examination regarding activities of Callice. Saying he ‘saw John ap John of Coggan having v or vj^e hoggeshede’ and ‘at sondrye tymes upon the shore nere the pyratts shippes in company of them’. Perhaps he was sick of his neighbours’ elicit activities, but more likely he did not want the commissioners to focus on the confession that ‘being a boteman...[he] hath vsed to carye many of the pyratts spoyle’. The National Archives State Papers, Domestic. Vol. 112. 3 April 1566.

⁶³² Deposition of John Smith, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/29/ff330-1. Ginger has been cultivated and harvested in tropical Asia since ancient times and is believed to have originated from India. Ginger, by the sixteenth century, was grown in Africa and the Caribbean. Freedman, *Out of the East*, 8.

piloting journey that John Smith, the owner of the *Angell*, discovered that the prize had been captured by several ships belonging to one Mr Watts of London.⁶³³

Smith's son, who had also served aboard the prize ship during this time, later informed his father that he had seen 'certain hides in a bark riding in the river at Waterford'.⁶³⁴ The son was under the impression that these hides were one and the same that had come out of the prize. John Smith's son had also purchased some ginger at 4d. a pound while in Ireland from 'one Poole' who also happened to be of the company in charge of the prize.⁶³⁵ The young lad also purchased another parcel of ginger from 'one Withers' in Ireland.

Although the deposition does not expressly state that Withers was one of the company involved with the prize, it can be assumed that Smith and his son are suggesting Withers had come to possess the ginger from the prize. Smith's son would have then bought the prize's cargo indirectly at this point. In total, the ginger purchased by Smith's son 'filled a barrel and cost 37s.'⁶³⁶ Smith's son was not the only crew member investing in ginger at this time.

Smith's deposition states that he had heard 'William Davis bought nearly a barrel of ginger in Ireland' as well.⁶³⁷ This inclusion of William Davis's purchase was significant for Smith to include for two reasons. The first was to possibly highlight the trail of pilfered goods once sale of the cargo had begun, therefore providing aid in the case and proving helpful in the investigation. The second is arguably to spread the blame.

⁶³³ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/29/ff330-1.

⁶³⁴ Ibid.

⁶³⁵ Ibid.

⁶³⁶ 4 February 1592. PRO H.C.A. MS 13/29/ff330-11. Ginger was highly valued as a trade commodity and by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ginger was being traded and sold in a preserved format. Alongside black pepper, ginger was one of the most commonly traded spices throughout the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. At the height of its demand in England, one pound of ginger held the equivalent cost to a sheep. Freedman, *Out of the East*, 116, 127-8.

⁶³⁷ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/29/ff330-1.

Smith concludes his deposition by informing the court that the crew of the *Angell* were given a ‘reward of 5 hides’ from the cargo of the prize.⁶³⁸ The ‘reward’ was given to them for use of their pilot. The term ‘reward’ is important in this sentence. Reward could be used in this case simply as part of the definition for the word that implies ‘recognition for a service provided’. However, as multiple cases have illustrated, pilots are traditionally ‘hired’ to provide a service.⁶³⁹ Indeed, Smith’s own deposition states that William Davis was ‘hired’ indicating that a business arrangement and agreement had been made before services were rendered. The hides were found to be an acceptable payment by the company of the *Angell* for their service. Therefore the term ‘reward’ should be reconsidered in this case. The term ‘reward’ can also imply a gift received. Under this interpretation it could suggest that Smith was trying to distance his ship’s company from the immediate ‘transaction’ of looted cargo by indicating the ‘hijacked’ hides were a gift, not a payment settled upon. In this instance it is possible that John Smith and his son both benefited from the interaction with the commandeered prize. The extant documentation does not provide insight into what the outcome of the case of the *Angell* was. Smith was trying to make all his interactions seem fair and as lawful as possible. He too would lose out on profits if he was made to return the hides and ginger. The testimony of Smith’s son regarding the ‘bark riding in the river at Waterford’ suggests that the contents were being prepared to trade further inland; illustrating the dispersal of pirated goods.⁶⁴⁰ Thus the influence of pirates on markets could stretch beyond coastal areas. Smith’s deposition also made it clear that he was not coerced or forced to accommodate pirates nor did he feign ignorance of their identity, thus his case departs from previous examples.

⁶³⁸ Ibid.

⁶³⁹ For a similar discussion on Pilotage refer to Chapter 2 ‘Official Piracy’ and the case of Giles Wiggers. Page 135.

⁶⁴⁰ PRO H.C.A. MS 13/29/ff330-1.

The Deposition of Thomas More and the vessel *Griffin*

Up to this point the majority of the cases discussed have shown how the practices of piracy have been favourable to the buyer of pilfered goods. By supplying cargo directly and by-passing customs, pirates were able to dispose of their booty quickly and without interference, while communities were able to barter, buy and trade for goods at a discounted price. The case of the *Griffin* is different, in that it implicates another possible beneficiary of the work of pirates.

In October 1571, Thomas More of Great Yarmouth purchased a ship by the name of *Griffin* from Andrew Arthurlony.⁶⁴¹ More bought the vessel with the understanding that it came complete with a full cargo of Newcastle coals, which were to be traded in La Rochelle by Arthurlony. Arthurlony, ‘having the moiety thereof’, sailed in the *Griffin*, representing his own half of the *Griffin* venture.⁶⁴² Over the course of the journey, Arthurlony soon came to a disagreement with the master of the *Griffin* and its company. Thereafter, Arthurlony immediately demanded that the ship be brought into port in Newhaven, England. To this point, the deposition presents itself as a story of tension between crew members, followed by a parting of ways. However, More adds that, while the *Griffin* was at port in Newhaven, Arthurlony ‘kept evil company and would have gone on pirating with the ship’ if given the opportunity. More further noted that Arthurlony had intended to take on board ‘certain Scots and Irishmen’ from Newhaven to sail with him as gentlemen of fortune.⁶⁴³

Unfortunately, Thomas More’s deposition is a stand-alone account. However, his assessment of Arthurlony’s behaviour reflects suspicion of his business partner. The case of the *Griffin* brings with it many queries. An easy assessment might suggest that More chose to

⁶⁴¹ Deposition of Thomas More, PRO H.C.A. MS 13/19/ff 378-80v. The writer has been unable to identify Andrew Arthurlony in any other extant contemporary documentation.

⁶⁴² A Moiety title is one of two parts of property ownership. PRO H.C.A. MS 13/19/ff 378-80v.

⁶⁴³ Ibid.

invest in a ship and the enterprise came to an unexpected end, ruined by his partner. He therefore was left with no choice but to take matters to the High Court of Admiralty to reclaim his losses. However, when considering the case of the *Griffin* in the context of its historical setting, a different set of conclusions might be applicable. More *chose* to invest in a vessel that was already stocked and bound for La Rochelle in 1571. More's actions can only suggest one of two conclusions. The first is that More was ignorant of the political climate or that he was investing in a venture with bad intentions.

At the time La Rochelle, the French Huguenot city, was under blockade by the French navy, under the command of Fillo di Piero Strozzi and Antoine Escalin des Aimars.⁶⁴⁴ The city fell under siege following the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, 23 August 1572.⁶⁴⁵ It seems highly unlikely that any merchant would be unaware that their trading destination was blockaded. Political relations between France and England had been turbulent since the reign of Henry VIII and merchant investors would be keeping an eye out for potential conflicts in the international ports as well as profitable peaceful sailing seasons.

Was More genuinely unaware of the situation in La Rochelle, or had he planned to never arrive there in the first place? Arguably, More may have been involved with 'insurance fraud'. He invested in a ship, a ship which already had a cargo whereby he was limiting his expenses in manual labour to load and shift goods. With the knowledge that the ship had a prior destination, which happened to be a militarized and blockaded zone, More may have placed his bets upon the *Griffin* and her goods never making it to the destination in the first place. His investment would have been met in pound value if reasonable evidence for loss of

⁶⁴⁴ La Rochelle became a centre for the Huguenot movement and the city declared itself an independent Reformed Republic on the model of Geneva. Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenots' New World, 1517-1751* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005), 149.

⁶⁴⁵ The St. Bartholomew's Day massacre began on the eve of the feast of Bartholomew the Apostle, 23 August 1572. What started as targeted assassinations ended with Roman Catholic mass 'mob violence'. See Robert J. Knecht, *The French Religious Wars 1562-1598* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2002).

goods was submitted to the High Court of Admiralty, or he could have made an even bigger profit if he exaggerated the losses, therefore making a profit albeit a minor one. No one likes to lose out on an investment, More included. He may have viewed his venture as an, ironically, 'safe' financial manoeuvre. More may have been pinning his hopes on a venture that would become a casualty of war, and therefore allow him to gain a Letter of Reprisal. It is possible that part way into his venture he may have had a change of heart, and decided to conspire against his partner in an attempt to gain back his initial investment.

More might have used Arthurlony as a scapegoat for his own despicable intentions. Arthurlony is not recorded as having provided any depositions or defence for this particular case, nor were there any other witnesses to testify on behalf of either man. It is noted however that Arthurlony has not cropped up in any searches of contemporary documentation, including those related to piracy. The only documented evidence extant in conjunction with the case of the *Griffin* and Thomas More's investment is his own testimony.

More's deposition may provide insight as to how piracy might occasionally benefit the merchant or investor. A person could make use of international conflict, play the court system, or even shop clever to benefit from piracy without getting directly involved. A tricky operator could use gentlemen of fortune as pawns to build their own prosperity. From feigning ignorance to clever phrasing buyers were at the advantage to gain from the sale of ill-gotten cargoes. The distribution of goods did not take long after a prize had been taken as evidenced in the deposition of Nicholas Allredie and the proclamation that was made in the parish churches and market towns advertising the recent arrival of goods. Whether investing in a barrel of ginger, like John Smith, or a full ship as More did; buyers and even merchants tried to turn a profit by aiding pirates. The desire for financial gain promoted the growth of piracy in sixteenth-century Ireland. This occurred regardless of rank. Chapter two highlighted that 'officials' were sometimes involved with piracy and the above cases have demonstrated

that buyers and merchants also collaborated at times with pirates. The acceptance of pirated goods as well as the victualing of pirates by coastal communities in Ireland during the sixteenth-century created a fertile receptacle for the later 'pirate plantation' which would aid in her population and economic growth overall during the seventeenth-century.

Conclusion

Piracy was an integral part of Ireland's history. The prevalence and growth of piracy in the sixteenth century helped lay the foundation for the prolific period of the 'Golden Age' of piracy in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The geographical distance between south-west Ireland and the centre of English law within the Pale and across the Irish Sea in London, in conjunction with the political unrest of the late sixteenth century and Ireland's uncertain position in Europe, provided a seedbed for gentlemen of fortune seeking prizes on the high seas. Especially notable at this time were the many privateers that conscientiously straddled the line between legal commandeering and outright seaborne depredation. The High Court of Admiralty saw many of these men brought before the law by aggrieved captains, crews, merchants and common buyers. The past three chapters have provided a sample of the cases recorded for the sixteenth century in the High Court of Admiralty papers relating to Ireland.

There are other sources apart from the High Court of Admiralty which cast a different light on piracy in Ireland. These include the Calendar of State Papers. The Calendars pertain to all aspects of English governance, including but not limited to law, social and religious policy, crown possessions and foreign policy. The Calendars used in this study provide a contemporary account of England and Ireland in the sixteenth century. The State Papers relating to Ireland contain arguably more than 100 entries that refer to piracy in the sixteenth century alone. Starting with the papers collected in the Reign of Henry VIII and concluding with Elizabeth I, the entries regarding piracy in Ireland increase in frequency as the years progress, culminating in the height of Elizabethan privateering. This increase could be attributed to a corresponding increase in the amount of piratical activity, or it could be attributed to an increase in record keeping. Some of the pirates found within these entries are

not found in the High Court of Admiralty papers for the same time period. For example, the pirate Thomas Phetyplace who leads a particularly exciting life within the pages of the Calendars.

Phetyplace is first mentioned as ‘generally esteemed a pirate’ in a correspondence from Sir William Fitzwilliams to William Cecil in February 1564.⁶⁴⁶ By the end of the month, the Privy Council is warned of Phetyplace’s ‘suspicious activities’.⁶⁴⁷ By the 1st of March a true declaration by Thomas Phetyplace is addressed to Sir William Cecil providing an account of his ocean voyages. The declaration covers a date range from May of 1563 to March of 1564.⁶⁴⁸ Details of the submission included two lists of inventory that listed the contents of Phetyplaces’s ship, the *Anne*, and detailing the contents of a ship called the *Grewnde*, which was also his ship but at the time was being ‘detained by Spaniards’.⁶⁴⁹ Included with this submission was a correspondence between Phetyplace and Fitzwilliams. In the letter dated 27 February 1564, Phetyplace offers his services including a bark and 30 men to Fitzwilliams, going so far as to promise to ‘attend upon’ him ‘wherever he shall appoint’.⁶⁵⁰

Phetyplace’s reply from Fitzwilliams is courteous. Fitzwilliams thanks him for the offer before expressing a desire for Phetyplace to join him in Liverpool, ‘where he and his bark may remain till weather serve for Dublin.’⁶⁵¹ As this correspondence is sent within days of his earlier letter to Cecil clearly labelling Phetyplace a pirate, Fitzwilliams’s two-faced character may be meant to lull Phetyplace into a false sense of security. Fitzwilliams could have been meant to lure Phetyplace to a location where he could keep an eye on him. By the

⁶⁴⁶ 17 February 1564. *CSPI, 1509-1573*, 230.

⁶⁴⁷ 29 February 1564. *Ibid.*, 230.

⁶⁴⁸ 1 March 1564. *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁹ 1 March 1564. Enclosures. *Ibid.*, 231.

⁶⁵⁰ Enclosed Letter (27 February 1564), ‘Welche Lake in the River of Chester’. *Ibid.*, 231. Appleby writes that Phetyplace first appealed to the council in 1563 with a fellow captain Johnson from a base in Kintyre. Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag*, 86.

⁶⁵¹ 29 February 1564. *CSPI, 1509-1573*, 231.

4th of March the same year, Fitswilliams seems to have completely changed his attitude towards Phetyplace and recommends him to Cecil for his courage, experience and his need. Fitswilliams has also lent him money at this time.⁶⁵²

Thomas Phetyplace is not mentioned again until a full year later, again in a correspondence of Fitswilliams who writes that Phetyplace 'is resolved to leave off piracy'.⁶⁵³ Phetyplace's name is traceably penned for the last time in the Calendar of State Papers in 1566. In a May correspondence with the Lord Deputy Sydney, Cecil writes that he is glad to hear that 'Thomas Phetyplace is taken'.⁶⁵⁴ This would suggest that despite the previous contrite and apologetic letters from Phetyplace to Fitswilliams and Cecil he reverted back to pirating. Thomas Phetyplace was one of many names linked with piracy within the correspondences flowing to and from Ireland during the sixteenth century. 'Clan piracy', while as active as international and commercialized piracy, is not often represented in the State Papers.

There are a few records of this type of piracy recorded however, for example in March of 1564 a clear case is illustrated in the petition of a couple of Scots, William Crmyke and William Arnold, to the Queen. The petition called for the 'restitution of their bark and wines, taken by force' in January by Ferdoragh Magennis, a brother-in-law of O'Neill, in the haven of Carlingford.⁶⁵⁵ The petition was supported by a letter from the Lord Lieutenant and Council to the Queen in favour of the Scots with the return of their ship and wines. The letter also explains that O'Neill 'refuses to restore the ship...till he has restitution for the hurts done

⁶⁵² 6 March 1564. Ibid., 236.

⁶⁵³ 4 May 1565. Ibid., 260.

⁶⁵⁴ 18 May 1566. Ibid., 301. Phetyplace eventually is arrested and imprisoned in Chester Castle. Appleby *Under the Bloody Flag*, 102.

⁶⁵⁵ 16 March 1564. *CSPI, 1509-1573*, 232.

by James M'Donnell.'⁶⁵⁶ O'Neill writes to the Queen directly to relay his account of the same incident. He states that he had permitted his men to take the ship and wine from the two Scots, 'Wlhelmus Okarmuik, et Wlhelmus Arnot', because 'they could get no redress' from the damaged inflicted by the MacDonnell clan and 'other Scots'.⁶⁵⁷ O'Neill stresses that because of them, he is unable to present means that the State Papers lend only a small insight into 'clan piracy' or the small opportunistic raiding characteristic of that carried out in the northwest of Ireland. To gain a deeper understanding of the frequency of pre-seventeenth-century piracy in Ireland and its dynamics, the Irish Annals were consulted to fill the gap.

Irish Annals record piracy throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Various major churches maintained contemporary chronicles during the later Middle Ages. These included not only religious events and clerical obituaries but details on contemporary politics and society. The most complete entries can be found in the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of the Four Masters, which is a compilation of several annals. The Annals of the Four Masters's last entry date is 1616 and the Annals of Ulster end in 1540. The Annals of Ulster and the Annals of the Four Masters have been edited and transcribed and are accessible online.⁶⁵⁸ In these two sources, there are at least 70 possible entries of piratical acts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, two-thirds of these are documented for the sixteenth century. For example, an entry in the Annals of the Four Masters in 1541 states that 'O'Donnel, i.e. Manus... sent a portion of his forces in boats along the lake, while he himself, with the remainder, proceeded by land; they conjointly plundered the country, both by land and water as far Enniskillen...' ⁶⁵⁹

Another example is an entry from 1560 which describes:

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., 232. M'Donnell refers to Sorely Boy MacDonnell. It is plausible that the Scots who were victim of Magennis were a part of, or were friendly with, the MacDonnell clan, which had a long-standing feud with O'Neill.

⁶⁵⁷ 23 May 1564. Ibid., 236. Original letter is in Latin author has used an English translation.

⁶⁵⁸ See CELT accessible online at: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/T100001A/>.

⁶⁵⁹ 1541. *AFM*, 418.

Mahon, the son of Torlogh... sailed with a ship's crew and some boasts from Aran to Desmond; he took some hostages in the southern country... On his return back with his booty, the wind became rough and the firmament became stormy, and the ship and boats were separated... after which the ship stuck on a rock... and was lost, with its crew except Mahon and three others; upwards of one hundred were drowned...⁶⁶⁰

The entry provided is vivid and complete, providing insight into what 'indigenous' piracy looked like. The many entries found within the Annals confirm that piracy was a continued presence throughout the sixteenth century. The Calendar of State Papers and the Annals of Ireland, while consulted and documented in this study of sixteenth-century Ireland and piracy, were used only as supplementary documentation for this thesis, where they fit in with the High Court of Admiralty cases examined. These resources remain to be expanded upon to further our understanding of sixteenth-century Irish piracy. Yet for this study they have been invaluable resources to better understand the depositions found in the High Court of Admiralty.

The cases contained within the three chapters of this study are not exhaustive. They were chosen because they exemplified 'political', 'official' and 'merchant and buyer' piracy. They highlight who gained from allowing piracy to flourish. There are 95 cases consisting of 280 individual depositions that deal with piracy and Ireland in the sixteenth century in both Latin and English. These are contained in 27 manuscripts which are held at the National Archive in Kew Gardens, London. Appleby has documented these cases in his *Calendar of Material Relating to Ireland* in which he provides a calendar of all The High Court of Admiralty Papers that reference Ireland. However, full texts are not available in print and have yet to be fully transcribed and edited. The manuscripts have not at the time of print been

⁶⁶⁰ 1560. Ibid., 452.

digitalised and are in danger of being lost by unforeseen disasters and general degradation through age despite how very well they are being preserved (see figure 4.1).

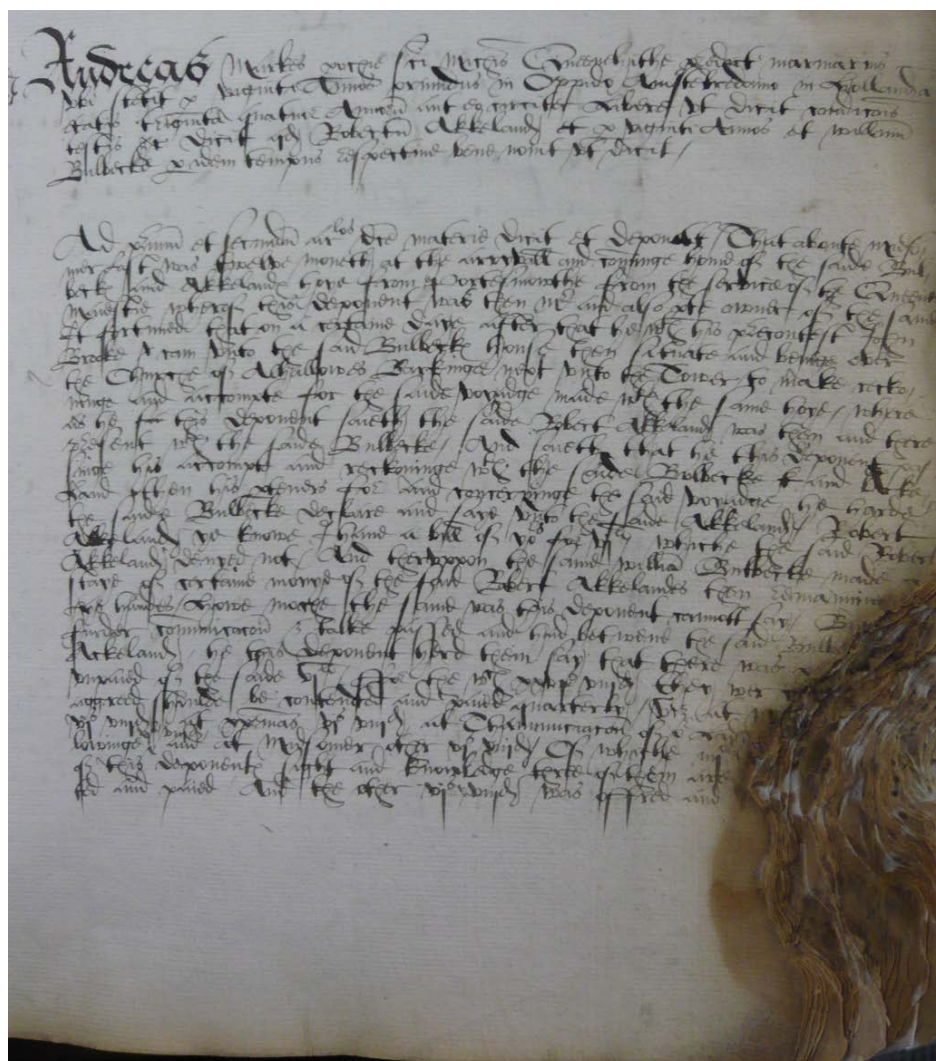


Figure 4.1. Example of moisture damage to a manuscript of the H.C.A. held at Kew. Author's own image.

As can be seen in figure 4.1, the manuscripts are in varying conditions. This study has documented each deposition pertaining to Ireland and piracy for the sixteenth century and created an unofficial digitalized record of each file. These can be found in the appendices with annotation.

The preservation of these invaluable resources is imperative for the continued research of the role of piracy in Irish history. The voices captured on page provide first-hand accounts of the seaborne depredation that was prevalent around the Irish Sea and along Ireland's coastline during the sixteenth century. The twenty cases examined have provided insight into why piracy was allowed to persevere, if not flourish, throughout the Tudor era and into the following centuries. By analysing who gained from seaborne depredation it becomes apparent that piracy served a purpose at different times by fulfilling diverse roles.

'Political' piracy served the monarch and the nation as a whole during times of war or even at times of silent hostility. The expansion into the New World coupled with the changing religious dynamics of England and Spain provided ample opportunity for the two super powers to flex their strength both on land and at sea. Navy resources were supplemented with sanctioned privateers and, as evidence suggests, 'pardoned' or overlooked piratical activities. This overarching theme can be identified in chapter one. The years surrounding political turmoil or international conflict saw governments and individuals take advantage of patriotism for personal gain. The cases documented, particularly in the late sixteenth century, demonstrate the reliance on the ambiguous nature of charters to excuse illicit illegal activity, which led to either private gain or personal ruin. During Elizabeth's reign, the monarchy waged a successful war of attrition against Spain by relying on occasional naval expeditions subsidised by privateers and 'uncontrollable pirates'. Ireland's troubled condition created a cover for all such ventures

The growing lawlessness at sea was not completely unchecked. In 1565 a set of articles were drawn up by the council in order to curb the aid pirates received from men on land. Commissioners appointed deputies within 'havens, creeks, and other landing places' under their jurisdictions. The commissioners and deputies were granted policing powers and were instructed to make inquiries of the above described areas as well as survey 'shipping,

mariners and fishermen'. Even more relevant to this study was that these men were also empowered to arrest suspected law breakers who aided and abetted pirates.⁶⁶¹ Maritime countries were placed under several commissioners, however 'there was no provision for their appointment' in Ireland.

Documentation and oral tradition has provided many cases of men in official positions flirting with piracy. This is especially true in Ireland where a lack of direct government left vacancies and loopholes which pirates exploited. The division between religious alliances in Ireland, questions of nationality and patriotism were spurred on by the Reformation, the consolidation of Tudor rule in Ireland, and England's failing relationship with Spain. These divisions are exemplified in men such as the Earl of Desmond and Sir John Perrot. The opportunity of gaining a fast profit at sea encouraged the participation of officials and aristocratic adventurers alike. The political and religious climate as well as the remote locations of Ireland provided men in positions of power and aristocratic families to pursue rivalries as well as personal greed at sea. At this time, it was possible for men of no background to step into vacant official positions as exemplified by Cornelius O'Brennan, thereby enjoying the power and benefits thereof. Ireland created a cover for indiscriminate plunder and seaborne depredation, and provided a receptive market for ill-gotten goods effectively becoming a seedbed for piracy, which would become even more evident in the next century.

Pirate plunder was re-distributed and widely dispersed in 'gift exchanges' and commercial trade through various channels. These sales would attract different groups of potential purchasers eager to acquire cheap commodities, free of customs duties. This included people of all classes and status, not just men in positions of influence and power. This is found in all levels of society as the cases analysed demonstrate the inaction or

⁶⁶¹ Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag*, 99.

cooperation of not only governments with pirates, but of men of status, buyers and manipulating merchants exploiting by-products of piracy. Opportunistic exploitation of international conflict, use of court systems, or even ‘smart’ shopping meant that men did not have to be out pirating in order to support its growth. Financial gain was a driving factor for the promotion and development of piracy in the sixteenth century.

The benefits of piracy must be considered despite the damage inflicted by seaborne depredation on trade and shipping; the circulation of plundered cargoes likely helped to limit the cost to the wider sixteenth-century economy. The late war years of the sixteenth century provided a catalyst for the larger and more popular pirating era which followed. The depositions found in the High Court of Admiralty are only one of a number of sources that provide insight into sixteenth-century piracy. The cases documented in the High Court of Admiralty can be compared with other contemporary texts such as the Irish Annals and the Calendar of State Papers. These sources combined highlight the growth of piratical activities that took place around the Irish Sea.

The High Court of Admiralty records are particularly significant for this study. They provide a reliable contemporary insight into the everyday seaborne depredation of the sixteenth century. The depositions also provide a less fantastical representation of pirates operating during this time; the accounts are more subdued than that provided by Johnson, to which many histories depended upon. The depositions illuminate that men from all levels of society dabbled in piracy or colluded with pirates when there was something to be gained from the interaction. These types of interactions motivated and maintained piracy throughout the sixteenth century, which further developed and grew as a result in the following centuries.

This study has illustrated an overview of sixteenth century Ireland and its historical relationship with piracy. This thesis, by highlighting the High Court of Admiralty depositions

provides groundwork for more comprehensive research of pirates, their organisation and their victims in the future. The twenty cases chosen specifically for this study highlight the motivations behind acts of seaborne depredation in and around Ireland from a range of perspectives, that of a political nature and the perspectives of merchants and officials. These help to illuminate why Ireland held such a vital place in piracy of the sixteenth century and sets the scene for the further growth and development of piracy in Ireland as witnessed by the plantation of pirates in the south of Ireland as discussed by Appleby and Kelleher. Sixteenth-century piracy as found in the High Court of Admiralty illustrates a general unofficial acceptance and occasional promotion of piracy, which laid the groundwork for the 'Golden Age' of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Appendix I: Duperry Calculation

The following is the mathematical equation used to figure the mean of the value of the wine in the deposition of Peter Duperry and the *James*.⁶⁶²

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \frac{47}{100 \%} & = & \frac{120}{255.32} \\ \\ \frac{60}{100 \%} & = & \frac{160}{266.67} \\ \\ \frac{30}{100 \%} & = & \frac{78.30}{260.99} \\ \\ \frac{7.66}{100 \%} & = & \frac{20}{260.99} \end{array} \quad \frac{(255.32 + 266.67)}{2} = \frac{260.99}{}$$

⁶⁶² Page 146.

Appendix II: Database of Manuscripts of the High Court of Admiralty that Relate to Ireland and Piracy

Key: X = Loss O = Gain N = Ship Wrecked £ = Politically Motivated ? = Possible Gain

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
1	13/3	ff 181-1v	23 June 1539	Robert ap Rhys/ Edward Beck etc.					O		N	Lost goods that were sold & later claimed & denied.
	13/3	f 182	2 July 1539	Robert ap Rhys								
2	13/5	ff 1-3	6 October 1546	Cencio Perez								The ship sta Maria de Guadalupe bound for Chester shot at and plundered by Michael James. Shortly following the initial pirating the vessel sta Maria de Guadalupe was then taken by one Leonard Sumpter near Waterford.
	13/5	f 7	14 October 1546	Martin de la Rea				X		O		
	13/5	ff 58-9	8 February 1547	John Smith								
	13/5	ff 231-2	23 April 1548	Robert Collins								
	13/5	ff 246-7	5 May 1548	Robert Collins								
3	13/5	ff 36-38	25 November 1546	Richard Latley	?			X		O		The ship the Mary Anne took a Spanish prize near Dursey Head.
4	13/5	ff 142-4	15 October 1547	William Van Tonger				X	O	O		A gentleman sent to Cork to recover clothes taken at sea by pirates and sold there.
	13/5	ff 278-9	25 August 1548	Derycke Vanderhoven								
	13/5	ff 287-9	20-Nov	William Van Tonger								
5	13/5	ff 248-50	23 May 1548	Robert Lovedaye				X		O		Thomas Fyshebill Cross-ref with the State Papers
6	13/5	ff 339-41	19 July 1549	John Landey				X		O		A ship of Danzing taken at sea and brought to Cork, where the cargo was sold. .
	13/5	ff 341-2	20 July 1549	Thomas Winter								
	13/5	ff 342-4	20 July 1549	John Janyver								
	13/5	ff 344-5	20 July 1549	Raymond Feeraymond								

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
7	13/6	ff 1-1v	22 April 1550	Thomas Wright		O		X	O	O		Master of a ship ordered to take on prize cargo captured by George Wyrriott.
	13/6	ff 28-9	11 October 1550	John Hurlocke								
8 (STAR)	13/7	ff 389-9v	26 August 1551	John Ellyott	?		O	X	?	O		Ship belonging to John De Andraca spoiled at sea and brought into Ireland
	13/7	ff 437-7v	24 April 1551	Dominic de Gryber								
	13/7	ff 437v-8	24 April 1551	Nicholas de Arano								
	13/7	ff 438-8v	24 April 1551	Dominic de Gorcam								
	13/7	ff 438v-9	24 April 1551	Michael de la Rynes								
	13/7	f 439	24 April 1551	Peter de la Rynes								
	13/7	ff 440-40v	Undated	John de Andraca								
9	13/9	ff 68-8v	4 July 1554	John Ayleward				X				The vessel the minion a French prize taken near the haven of Carlingford.
	13/9	ff 85-5v	16 October 1554	William Byrsshall								
	13/9	ff 85v-6	16 October 1554	John Dympsy								
10	13/10	ff 79-9v	27 November 1555	Edmund Bayly			O					Ship driven to Galway by Spaniards- eventually sold..
	13/10	ff 31-1v	27 November 1555	Edmund Bayly								
11	13/10	ff-32v-33	2 November 1555	Nicholas Fitzsimmons				X				The ship Jesus taken at Lough Foyle and brought to Rathlin Island.
	13/10	ff 45v-6	19 February 1556	John Clarke								
	13/10	ff 46v-7	19 February 1556	James Hookye								
12 (STAR)	13/11	ff 107v-9v	20 June 1556	Anthony Stryngar ex parte John Challoner	?							The ship Eugenius taken by the pirate Coole. Ship was last seen near Minehead.
	13/11	ff 106v-7v	20 June 1556	Robert Starkey								
	13/11	f 110	20 June 1556	Lawrence Packe								

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
	13/11	ff 110v-11	20 June 1556	William Baitman								
	13/11	ff 111-1v	20 June 1556	John Evans								
	13/11	ff 112-2v	20 June 1556	John Field								
	13/11	ff 113v-4v	20 June 1556	William Baitman								
	13/11	ff 114v-5	20 June 1556	John Harryes								
	13/11	ff 115-6	20 June 1556	John Jones Vaughan								
13	13/11	ff 216v-8	4 December 1557	Henry Game	?							French vessels returning from Newfound one of which was a prize taken by the John.
	13/11	ff 218-9v	4 December 1557	John Thomas								
	13/11	ff 14-5	4 March 1558	Robert Prowe								
14	13/11	ff 220-21v	4 December 1557	John Wallwyn <i>e parte</i> Thomas Borrowe	£	O	O			X		Anne of Dublin made ready as a man of war 'to spoil and rob friends and enemies'.
	13/11	ff 231-5	4 December 1557	Rowland Brasebridge								
	13/11	ff 236v-9v	4 December 1557 (?)	William Bennett								
	13/12	ff 3v-5v	18 February 1558	William Dennam								
	13/12	ff 26-7	26 April 1558	Nicholas Castleton								
	13/12	ff 92-2v	28 June 1558	John Wright								
	13/12	ff 92v-3v	28 June 1558	Edward Herd								
	13/12	ff 127v-9	13 October 1558	Robert Waddylove								
	13/12	ff 156v-8	12 December 1558	Ralph Wayre								
	13/12	ff 160-1	14 December 1558	Henry Macklyn								
	13/12	ff 161-2v	15 December 1558	Roger Jennott								
	13/12	ff 167-8v	21 January 1559	Robert Baker								
	13/12	ff 169v-70v	27 January 1559	William Kerry								

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
	13/12	ff 170v-71v	27 January 1559	Anthony Jones								
	13/12	ff 175v-6	8 February 1559	Robert Marckes								
	13/12	ff 176-7	14 February 1559	Thomas Knapper								
	13/12	ff 184-4v	22 March 1559	Roger Jennott								
	13/12	ff 185v-6	23 Feb 1559	Andrew Waddylove								
	13/12	ff 197v-8	19 April 1559	Henry Macklyn								
	13/12	ff 210-10v	10 June 1559	William Bennett								
	13/12	ff 266-8v	13 November 1559	Thomas Borrowe								
15	13/14	ff 22v-4	30 September 1561	Ralph Surgarston	?			X				Ship taken in Dublin by French and brought to Liverpool.
	13/14	ff 28-8v	18 October 1561	William Kelley								
	13/14	f 31	19 October 1561	Ivo Guegan								
	13/14	ff 36v-7	27 October 1561	John White								
	13/14	f 37	27 October 1561	Rowland Lanell								
16	13/14	f 86v	31 March 1562	Ralph Winter		?		X		X		Men sent out in queen's ships to apprehend certain pirates, apprehended the Minion in the port of Dublin
	13/14	ff 93v-4	22 April 1562	Thomas Tyrye								
	13/14	ff 94-4v	22 April 1562	William Begg								
	13/14	ff 94v-5v	22 April 1562	Thomas Neighbor								
	13/14	f 110	3 June 1562	Thomas Smith								
	13/14	f 113v	9 June 1562	Galfred Vaughan								
17	13/14	ff 123v-4	2 July 1562	Thomas Hampton	£			X		X		Ship sailing from Dublin 'justly taken' and goods were claimed as lawful prize.
	13/14	ff 169v-70v	12 February 1563	Peter Rutkins								

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
18	13/14	190v-2	10 March 1563	Peter du Perrey				X		O		Ship laded with wines taken by pirates and carried into Kinsale.
19	13/15	ff 138v-40	2 June 1563	Francis Thyman				X		O		Ship on the way to Ireland for trade taken of the Welsh coast by English ship of war.
	13/15	ff 140-40v	2 June 1563	Christian Ullers								
	13/15	ff 141-1v	2 June 1563	Henry Meyeonskyne								
20 (STAR)	13/15	ff 251-2v	6 December 1564	William Thackwell					O	X		Gentleman sent to Ireland to hunt pirates. Pirate selling goods in Ireland.
21	13/15	ff 346-7	16 August 1565	Thomas Samweis				X	O	X		French ship laden with woad taken off of Brittany, prize goods sold in Ireland.
	13/15	ff 347v-8v	16 August 1565	Hugh Randall								
22	13/16	ff 154-5	6 October 1567	Nicholas Lumbard			O (?)	X		O		Thomas Cobham sized ships and sold the cargoes in England and Ireland.
23	13/16	f 420	24 March 1569	Julian Roze				X				Ship taken by an English vessel and cargoes sold to Irish man.
24 (STAR)	13/17	ff 269-70	14 February 1570	Peter Duperry			O	X	X	O		Merchants for Desmond arrested in Bordeaux, the ship is returned and confiscated in Cork for dead freight, where the cargo was sold for little value.
	13/17	ff 285-6v	6 March 1570	John Morrys								
	13/17	ff 296-7	24 March 1570	William Coppinger								
	13/17	f 303	8 April 1570	Peter Duperry								
	13/17	ff 303v-5	9 April 1570	Thomas Seale								
	13/17	ff 305v-6	12 April 1570	German Bryan								
	13/17	ff 322v-5v	18 April 1570	James Coursey								
	13/17	ff 349v-50	27 April 1570	Bartholomew le Bourden								
	13/17	ff 374-5	25 May 1570	David Goldinge								

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
	13/17	ff 375-6	25 May 1570	John Berry								
25	13/17	ff 369-9v	22 may 1570	John A'Fawlwen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A man has a counterfeit seal of the Lord Admiral's
26	13/19	ff 114-4v	22 may 1572	Walter Pepperell			O	X	O	O		Examined re: the receipt and disposing of goods piratically taken at sea. Constable of Plymouth.
27 (STAR)	13/19	ff 378v-80v	10 February 1573	Thomas More				X O				Merchant turned Pirate
28	13/19	ff 386-7	12 February 1573	Robert Sare				X O				Examined re: receipt of goods piratically taken at sea.
29 (STAR)	13/19	ff 420-21	28 March 1573	John Brodeway	?	O	O	X				Ship to trade from Portugal with France, waylaid by weather in Youghal- confiscated by officer of Earl of Kildare then by Sir John Perrott and Lord deputy. Merchants jailed.
30	13/20	ff 289-9v	23 September 1574	Thomas Ogan	?							French vs Irish/English. Fight out at sea.
	13/20	ff 290-90v	24 September 1574	Robert Kenwicke								
31	13/22	ff 13-14v	24 January 1576	Morgan Portrey				X		O		Merchant taken for part of the cargo (necessities not plunder)
	13/22	ff 48-50v	14 February 1576	Edward Stradlinge								
32 (STAR)	13/22	ff 40v-42	10 February 1576	Giles Wiggers			O	X		O		Examine forced by mutineers to go Ireland, then kept by Bishop of Ross and forced to buy freedom w/ goods from ship.
33 (STAR)	13/22	ff 71-3	12 March 1576	Thomas White				X	O	O		Biscay (among other ships) taken and cargo sold Ireland (Castlehaven) and Wales. John Callice
	13/22	ff 73-4	14 March 1576	John Robarts								

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
	13/22	ff 76-80	17 March 1576	Christopher Horsum								
	13/22	ff 81-3v	24 March 1576	Lancelott Greenewell								
	13/22	ff 83v-4	27 March 1576	Nicholas Herbart								
	13/22	ff 93v-4 & ff 116v-7	14 April 1576	Peter de la Torr								
	13/22	ff 183v-4		Inigo de Valderama								
34	13/22	ff 113-3v	15 May 1576	Guillaume Mysheleott	?							French ship set upon ship in Irish waters
	13/22	ff 132-3	15 May 1576	William Towers								
35	13/22	ff 316-7	5 January 1577	John Grey				X		O		Scottish ship captured and ransomed to the merchant
	13/22	ff 317-7v	5 January 1577	Richard Harrys								
	13/22	ff 317v-8	5 January 1577	Henry Prior								
36	13/23	ff 130-31v	11 January 1578	Richard Staper		O	O	X	O	X		Pirate caught and the prize in possession of multiple officials. Queen gets a fifth .
	13/23	f 187	13 March 1578	George Winter								
37	13/23	f 248v	24 September 1578	William Smithe					X	O		Fishing vessel pirated.
38 (STAR)	13/24	ff 96v-7	27 July 1580	John Corbett	£	O						Privateer captures ship with victuals for James Fitzmaurice
	13/24	ff 103-4	27 August 1580	William Pryn								
39	13/24	ff 113v-4	20 November 1580	Ludovic Griffith	?			X				Vessel taken by Bristol ship with soldiers on it.
40	13/24	ff 139v-40	20 April 1582	John Browninge				X	O			Vessel bought from another vessel that had a prize and later sold the goods.
	13/24	ff 140-1	20 April 1582	John Edwards								

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
	13/24	ff 141-2	20 April 1582	Richard Whitley								
	13/24	ff 142-2v	20 April 1582	John Phillips								
	13/24	ff 142v-3	20 April 1582	John Flowen								
	13/24	ff 192v-3v	2 February 1582	John Flahye								
	13/24	ff 193v-5	4 February 1582	John Flawen								
	13/24	ff 196-7v	6 February 1582	John Phillips								
41	13/24	f 157v	8 July 1581	John Poore		O						Queen's ship seizes ship that was taken by Pirates
42 (STAR)	13/24	ff 203-3v	23 March 1582	Nicholas Dennys	?		O	X	O	O	N	Spanish vessel seized and English crew. Spanish thrown overboard. Pirates traded ship and some goods for new ship. Then ship grounded and O'Driscoll seized the goods.
	13/24	ff 204-5	29 March 1582	Morrays Wise								
43	13/25	ff 14-5	25 May 1583	David Drilinge	(?)	-	-	-	-	-	-	Englishmen's ship attacked by French, Therefore enacts a Reprisal of a French Ship as recompense.
44	13/25	ff 105v-7v	1 July 1584	Thomas Stamford	?			X				Ship seized by Scottish ship
	13/25	ff 107v-9v	2 July 1584	Nicholas Clere								
45 (STAR)	13/25	ff 190v-6	3 march 1585	Nicholas Mierman		O	O	X	O	O		Ship taken by 3 pirates. Goods sold in Ireland. Merchants kept prisoner. Ship Taken by President Norry's and Pirates dealt nicely with.
	13/25	ff 196-6v	3 march 1585	Albert Drier								
46	13/25	f 231v	24 may 1585	Thomas Bell				X				Flemish Bark spoiled.
47	13/26	ff 2-2v	13 April 1586	Claude Bullame				X		O		Galway merchant spoiled at sea
	13/26	f 4	18 April 1586	Michael Blanchett								
	13/26	f 4	18 April 1586	Francis Fevre								

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
48	13/26	ff 110-10v	20 September 1586	William Uffington				X		O		Irish captain of French ship Spoils English ship.
49	13/26	ff 335-6	2 September 1587	Philip Acton			O	X				Spanish ship taken by English ship w/ letters of reprisal. Landed in Ireland and then taken again by Sir William Herbert (Son of 1st Earl of Pembroke. – ‘Knight of the shire’)
50	13/27	ff 3v-4	February 1588	Guilliam Pembier	?			X				English capture ship (possibly under pretense of it being Spanish) 1588. Goods go to a financier.
	13/27	ff 4-4v	February 1588	John Rieu								
	13/27	f 4v	February 1588	Bastian Velick								
51	13/27	f 120	18 March 1588	Dorhan Nollen				X X	X	O		Merchant of Galway robbed by Cooke and company of pirates. Deposition includes case of written restitution case
	13/27	ff 120v-1	18 March 1588	Peer Martin								
	13/27	ff 160v-1	27 April 1588	Dorhan Nollen								
	13/27	ff 159v-60v	27 April 1588	George Cotton								
52	13/27	ff 159v-60v	27 April 1588	George Cotton				O		X		In conjunction with 275. Ship and sale of goods spotted by another ship and reported.
53	13/27	f 222	25 September 1588	Godfrey Johnson			O	X	O	O		Accused of Piracy but claiming innocence and stating others must have done it. Mentions Sir Thomas Norris.
	13/27	ff 278-8v	17 January 1589	Thomas Fulshawe								
54	13/27	ff 242v-5	24 October 1588	John Staple		O						Privateering example or commission from Her Majesty
55	13/27	ff 252v-3v	4 November 1588	John doudeswell			X		O	O		Countess stolen from. Pirates share plunder and sell.

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
56 (STAR)	13/27	ff 292v-3	1 February 1589	Nicholas Alreddie	£	O(?)	O	X	O			Admiral's tenth- 'Lawful Prize'- Unlawful. Orders of Restitution and Privateering . Sir Francis Drake.
	13/27	ff 292v-3	1 February 1589	Richard Cowarne								
	13/27	ff 297v-8	6 February 1589	John Dolberre								
	13/27	ff 298-9	7 February 1589	William Mattheuwe								
	13/27	ff 302v-3	7 February 1589	Richard Cowarne								
	13/27	ff 305-6v	19 February 1589	Simon Malowne								
	13/27	ff 306v-7v	19 February 1589	Nicholas Wise								
	13/27	ff 362-2v	13 May 1589	John Stronge								
	13/32	ff 63v-4v	8 February 1596	Richard Simondes								
	13/32	ff 78-8v	1 March 1596	Thomas Bromfield								
	13/32	ff 85v-6	10 March 1596	Nicholas Wise								
	13/32	f 86v	11 March 1596	Robert Cutt								
57	13/27	ff 295-5v	6 February 1589	John Wichaells				X O	O	O		Merchants buy stolen goods and sell lower priced.
	13/27	ff 296-7	6 February 1589	Hugh Curry								
58	13/28	ff 23-3v	4 December 1589	Thomas Oxenbridge				X				English Crew takes French ship put into port in Waterford.
	13/28	ff 24-4v	5 December 1589	Richard Hawkins								
	13/28	ff 41-1v	5 December 1589	Robert Hutton								
59	13/28	ff 116v-8v	2 May 1590	Sillacus Barckman				X				English Captain/Pirate takes ship of Hamburg and Irish bark
	13/28	ff 118v-21	2 May 1590	George van Bicklen								

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
	13/28	ff 121-2	2 May 1590	Herman van Couldway								
	13/28	ff 122v-3v	3 May 1590	Hinde Trappe								
60	13/28	ff 178v-9	15 July 1590	David Harris	?			X				Irish Master of English ship assaults Scottish merchant ship trading with Spain.
61	13/28	ff 219v-20	18 September 1590	William Hynes				X		O		French ship spoils English-Irish trade ship
	13/28	ff 220v-21	18 September 1590	Richard Nicholson								
62	13/28	ff 221-1v	26 September 1590	James Bryionneaux				X	O	O		French fish- ship pirated by English- Fishing crew set in Ireland
	13/28	f 221v	26 September 1590	Matthew Grafar								
63	13/28	ff 357v-8	12 January 1591	John Marlson	?			X				Spanish trade ship plundered by English
64	13/29	ff 62-63	17 April 1591	Ibrande Jacobson				X		O		English attack Dutch ship (twice- different English) set crew in Ireland where they can't survive
	13/29	ff 63-4	17 April 1591	Everat Sprunge								
	13/29	ff 64v-5v	17 April 1591	Luca de Comenes								
65 (STAR)	13/29	f 135v	27 June 1591	Patrick Landy				X	O	O		Irish Merchants taken by French Pirates then re-taken by English Pirates- goods sold in Cornwall/England.
	13/29	ff 135v-6	27 June 1591	Walter Nugent								
	13/29	f 160	23 August 1591	James Longe								
	13/30	ff 278-8v	6 February 1594	Richard Brady								
	13/30	f 278v	6 February 1594	Richard Brady								
	13/30	f 279	6 February 1594	Alexander Burte								

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
	13/30	f 279v	6 February 1594	Alexander Burte								
	13/30	f 280	6 February 1594	William Welshe								
	13/30	f 280	6 February 1594	William Welshe								
	13/30	f 280v	6 February 1594	Richard Brady								
	13/30	f 280v	6 February 1594	Alexander Burte								
	13/30	ff 284-4v	6 February 1594	Robert White								
	13/30	ff 284v-5	6 February 1594	Robert White								
	13/31	ff 248-8v	2 June 1595	Robert White								
	13/29	f 159v	23 August 1591	John Bellewe								
66	13/29	ff 205-6	22 November 1591	Richard Fitzsimmons			O	X X	O	O		Irish Merchants using French ship. Vessel taken at sea some cargo taken. Taken again by English. Items sold from ship by Lord Admirals bidding despite owners claims.
	13/29	ff 206-7	23 November 1591	Patrick Cusacke								
67 (STAR)	13/29	ff 330-1	4 February 1592	John Smith				X	O			Evidence of a prize in Ireland with cargo being sold to buyers there
68	13/30	ff 28-8v	18 may 1592	Oldricke Elers				X	O	O		Ship taken by 3 English ships and stores sold before rest placed in warehouse
	13/30	f 56	6 July 1592	Robert Shaper								
	13/30	ff 65v-6	3 August 1592	Teues Snelle								
	13/30	ff 66v-7	3 August 1592	Peter Hulste								
69 (STAR)	13/30	ff 30-1	6 June 1592	William Lincolll				X	O	O		Merchant ship trading between Lisbon and Ireland taken by French MOW. Half cargo tossed in Sea and other taken. Explicit example of stolen wares being sold cheaper.
	13/30	ff 31-1v	6 June 1592	Peter Tremblere								

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
70	13/30	ff 47v-8	27 June 1592	Hugh Mostin				X		O X		Irish ship taken by French (Pirates actually brought to court)
	13/30	ff 48-8v	27 June 1592	John Dowdall								
71	13/30	ff 53-3v	3 July 1592	Simon Johnson				X		O		English take a Dutch ship.
72	13/30	ff 220v-1	12 June 1593	Ambrose Salusburie				O		O		Letters of reprisal and Pirate attack and prize laid up in Ireland
	13/30	f 221	12 June 1593	Nathaniel Griffen								
	13/30	f 221	12 June 1593	Edward Billens								
	13/30	f 221v	12 June 1593	William Rudes								
	13/30	f 221v	12 June 1593	Henry Johnson								
73 (STAR)	13/31	ff 20-20v	15 May 1594	George Woodlock				X	O	O	N	Merchant taken by 14 French ships- Demands recompense- his life threatened
	13/32	ff 24v-5	20 December 1595	Thomas Woodlock								
	13/32	f 161v	13 November 1596	Grancis Tete			?					
	13/32	f 161v	13 November 1596	Jaques Burnie								
	13/32	f 161v	13 November 1596	Joyseau Barteawe								
74	13/31	f 80-80v	28 August 1594	Richard Bickford		O	O		O (?)	O X		Assault on a town (much like many of the Caribbean cases. Some Pirates smuggle some goods/ town finds it claims for queen/ also Deputy & lower officials take some
75 (STAR)	13/31	f 188v	11 February 1595	Giles Popkins	£		O	X	O	O X		False accusations of trade w/Spain. Cargo taken and sold in Ireland
	13/31	ff 203v-4	26 February 1595	Garret Egberts								
	13/31	ff 208-8v	15 March 1595	Richard Harrison								
	13/31	ff 208v-9	15 March 1595	Nicholas Mecleson								

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
	13/31	ff 209-9v	15 March 1595	John Wabie								
	13/31	ff 211-11v	15 March 1595	Henry Tyler								
76	13/31	f 192v	14 February 1595	John Johnson	?							Carvel taken and Spanish brought to Ireland
77 (STAR)	13/31	ff 193-9v	14 February 1595	Edward Simond		O	O	X	O	O		Prize brought into Ireland. Some cargo sold others claimed by officials there.
	13/31	ff 193v-4	14 February 1595	Richard Blake								
	13/31	ff 195-6	15 February 1595	John Evans								
	13/31	ff 196-6v	15 February 1595	John Simondes								
78	13/31	f 321	1 October 1595	George Deute				X				English Ship attacked by English sailing in Breton boat
79	13/32	f 87	13 March 1596	Crispin Shute				X		O		English attack ship of Danzig- set crew on a passing Irish ship
80	13/32	f 163	16 November 1596	Stephen Skiddye				X	O	O	N	Irish Merchants ship taken by English, wares sold and wrecked
81	13/32	f180v-1v	14 January 1597	Richard Clarke				X		O		Ship taken and sold in Spain
82	13/32	f 228v	19 April 1597	John Blare				X		O X		Scottish ship taken on route to France. Waylaid in Ireland. Prosecute to find ship has been taken by Privateer?
	13/32	ff 228v-9	19 April 1597	Robert Barclay								
83	13/32	f 252v	21 May 1597	Joachim Ochhoff				X				Hamburg ship taken by English and brought to Ireland
	13/32	f 252v	21 May 1597	Hendricke Molkenbore								

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
	13/32	ff 252v-3	21 May 1597	Peter Alverman								
	13/32	f 253	21 May 1597	Peter Stepensand								
84	13/32	ff 267v-8	13 June 1597	Richard Cornellis				X		X		Accused ownership of a pirate ship.
	13/32	ff 268v-9	13 June 1597	Joshua Sayer								
	13/32	f 318	8 October 1597	Joshua Sayer								
85	13/32	ff 371-1v	10 January 1598	James Bagge				X	O	O		Ship taken and goods sold at leisure
86 (STAR)	13/33	ff 33v-34	18 March 1598	Richard Brinnegan	?	O	(?)	X	O	O		Irish merchant ship taken by English- Popish book thrown overboard . Cargo sold. Hides for her Majesty's custom .
	13/33	f 34	18 March 1598	Hector Hay								
	13/33	ff 34-34v	18 March 1598	Patick Siggrin								
	13/33	ff 39v-40	25 March 1598	Richard Brinnegan								
	13/33	ff 40-40v	25 March 1598	Hector Hay								
	13/33	ff 40v-41	25 March 1598	Thomas Cod								
	13/33	ff 41-1v	25 March 1598	Patrick Segen								
	13/33	ff 70-1	17 May 1598	William Alderton								
	13/33	ff 74v-5v	19 May 1598	Edmond Undershill								
	13/33	ff 75v-6	20 May 1598	William Beecham								
	13/33	ff 76-6v	20 May 1598	Richard Barry								
	13/33	ff 77-77v	22 May 1598	George Jones								
	13/33	ff 77v-8	26 May 1598	Edward Hill								
	13/33	ff 93-3v	10 June 1598	William Dowle								
	13/33	ff 93v-5v	10 June 1598	William Giles								
	13/33	ff 98v-9v	23 June 1598	Clemence Garratt								
	13/33	f 250v	14 December 1598	Patrick Galwaye								

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of	Political	Upper officials	Lower officials	Merchant	Buyer	Pirate/Privateer	Wreck	Notes:
87	13/33	f 67v-8	4 May 1598	James Feauton				X	O	O		French ship taken by English. Cargo sold in Ireland.
88	13/33	ff 126v-7v	29 July 1598	John Weston		O		X	O	O		Irish merchant ship taken by English- half cargo taken. Taken again on return voyage, disposed of ship. Later ship and pirate captured but not suffered to be returned without court proceeding.
89	13/33	ff 266v-7v	8 January 1599	John Commin				X	O	O		Merchant ship sailing from Ireland to Spain taken by English- (and sold?)
90	13/33	f 339	2 March 1599	Zachary Aldach				X		O		Hamburg ship taken by English- Irish ship taken by same.
91	13/34	ff 12-2v	13 April 1599	Henry Oldenburghe				X	O	O		Hamburg ship taken by English. Cargo taken to Ireland and sold
	13/34	ff 12v-3	13 April 1599	Phillip Caller								
	13/34	ff 13-3v	13 April 1599	Herman Johnson								
92	13/34	f 44	18 June 1599	Andrew Page				X		O		Ship spoiled whilst at anchor in Norfolk
93	13/34	ff 114-4v	8 December 1599	Cornelius Joson	?			X	O	O		English MOW takes French prize sells goods in Ireland returns the ship.
94 (STAR)	13/34	ff 146v-149	30 January 1600	Henry Middleton	?			X	O	O		(1600) Letters of Reprisal against Spain
	13/34	ff 201v-2v	30 April 1600	Radulph Carden								

Selected Case Manuscript Images

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
8 (STAR)	13/7	ff 389-9v	26 August 1551	John Ellyott
	13/7	ff 437-7v	24 April 1551	Dominic de Gryber
	13/7	ff 437v-8	24 April 1551	Nicholas de Arano
	13/7	ff 438-8v	24 April 1551	Dominic de Gorcam
	13/7	ff 438v-9	24 April 1551	Michael de la Rynes
	13/7	f 439	24 April 1551	Peter de la Rynes
	13/7	ff 440-40v	Undated	John de Andraca

Die munday xxvth Augusti 1551 H^{is} maj^{ty} dⁿⁱ m^{ci}
Edwardi sexti anno quinto

Confessiones personales Joh^{is} Flavell de plimouth in con-
dictis iuramentis factis p^{re}missis et articulis r^{ati}onibus libelli sine
iuramentis et aliis r^{ati}onibus in curia p^{re}missa factis p^{re}missis dⁿⁱ
Regis sine admitt^u Anglie ex p^{ar}te Joh^{is} de Andara de
plimouth in q^{ue}stionibus datis sequitur

333

Ad primam respondit et dicit q^{uod} in Anno 1528 and untill
the first day of April 1529 he his respondent was owner of the
ship articulatus & apparell of the same & so commonly rep^{re}-
ted & taken, and saith that the said day of April he his
respondent sold the said ship with his apparell to one Cristof^{er}
Dangeⁿ of Portsm^{outh} in the shire of Berke^{shire} reales for the
sume of xx^{li} and so dicit. Et alr credit candem non
esse veram in aliqua p^{ar}te conf^{ess}ionis.

Ad secundam respondit et dicit q^{uod} by the space of a month
or by^{er} w^{er}the before the respondent sold the said ship he
did make one Thomas partur of plimouth one of the
said ship, who went with the said ship as m^{an} of the ship after
the respondent had sold the same, appointed by the said
Dangeⁿ, and that the said Dangeⁿ was Capiteigne of
the said ship by the space of y^e voyadge after he had
brought the same. And after that appointed philipp Dangeⁿ
to be Capiteigne therof as the respondent had sey^d et dicit
Et alr credit candem non rob^{ore} veritatem in aliquo

Ad tertiam respondit et credit candem rob^{ore} veritatem
in qualib^{et} p^{ar}te conf^{ess}ionis.

Ad quartam respondit et credit q^{uod} the same Andara
beinge Emperours Embet^{er} had sent a ship laden
with wines at London aboute the time articulatus et di-
cit. Et alr credit candem non esse veram in aliquo

Ad quintam respondit et credit q^{uod} he his respondent after
he had sey^d that the ship & wines articulatus beinge spoiled
upon the sea, was brought into Ireland by one James Dangeⁿ
& retayned after that was in report with him et dicit Et
alr credit candem non esse veram in aliqua eⁱⁿda p^{ar}te

Ad sextam respondit et credit nat^{ur}ally articulatus t^{em}p^{or}e dealu-
isse centum libras aut m^{ag}is et dicit. Et alr credit
candem non rob^{ore} veritatem in aliquo

Ad septimam respondit et credit q^{uod} a t^{em}p^{or}e of East^{er}ne wine
was then worst beinge full & good & brought to the porte of
Sale therof, m^{ag}is et not above et dicit. Et alr credit
candem non esse veram in aliqua p^{ar}te conf^{ess}ionis.

Ad ^{ma} roudet et credit. Et a tunc de p^{re}sentis
non h^{ab}et roudet d^{um} m^o p^{re}sentis not above
credit eandem non retinere veritatem in aliqua
p^{ar}te

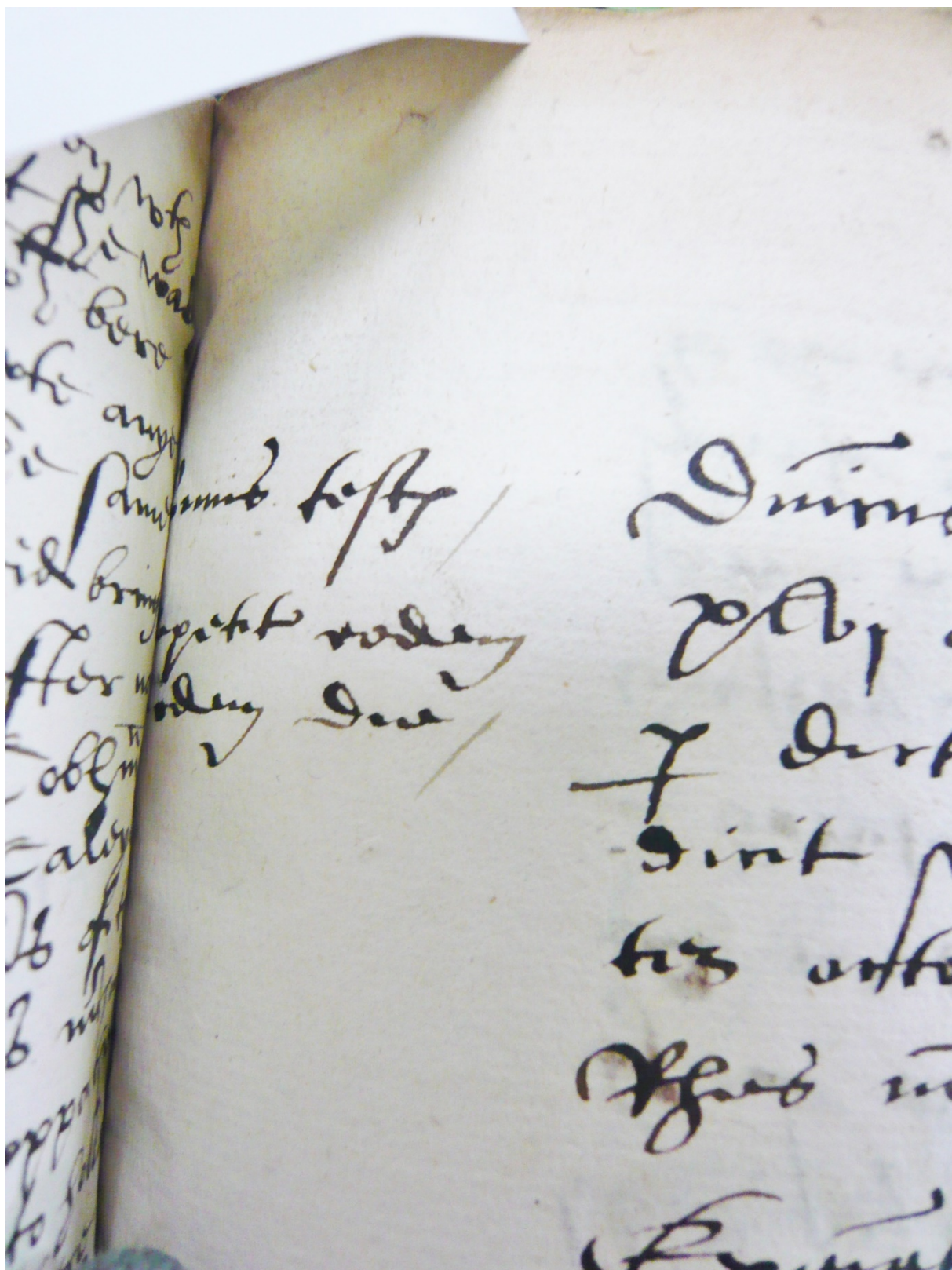
Ad ^{ma} roudet et credit. Et a tunc de p^{re}sentis
C^{on}firmat^{ur} ab ar^{re} p^{re}sentis in h^{ab}et articulo
not^{ur} p^{re}sentis ab h^{ab}et roudet et confirmat^{ur} est not above
Et al^{ia} credit eandem not esse veram in aliqua

Ad ^{ma} credit eandem Andara fuisse et esse
infirmitate ad sumam p^{re}sentis et noⁿ ultra. Et al^{ia} credit
eandem noⁿ retinere veritatem in aliqua p^{ar}te

Ad ^{ma} et ^{ma} roudet q^{uod} inq^{ue}nt^{ur} fuit requisitus ante
liber^{um} instans, ac q^{uod} inq^{ue}nt^{ur} sit recusavit et recusat
h^{ab}et said ship^{per} callid^{us} h^{ab}et fflye did not et h^{ab}et
h^{ab}et said spoyle appertine^{re} vnto h^{ab}et roudet et d^{um}
h^{ab}et h^{ab}et h^{ab}et h^{ab}et h^{ab}et h^{ab}et h^{ab}et h^{ab}et h^{ab}et h^{ab}et
to h^{ab}et roudet b^{er}ge not paid for h^{ab}et said ship^{per} et h^{ab}et
said Griffite^r d^{um} g^ung^u And f^und^ung^u h^{ab}et same ship^{per}
vnto p^{re}sentis in Come wall, did h^{ab}et roudet et
p^{re}sentis of h^{ab}et agayn^{us} for non payment of h^{ab}et
before expressid d^{um} vnto g^ung^u for h^{ab}et sale of h^{ab}et
d^{um} Et al^{ia} credit eandem noⁿ esse veram in aliqua
eandem

Ad ^{ma} et ^{ma} roudet et credit eandem retinere veritatem
in qual^{it} eandem p^{ar}te

Ad vlt^{ima} roudet q^{uod} roudet sua sunt vera et f^und^ung^u
dit f^und^ung^u laborant et noⁿ tal^{ia}



the said deponent saw no day in the
said year, nor amongst the many of men, but
for the year 1400 that he did well
know the said ship to be a ship of
the of Plymouth, for that, the year before he
and arrived at Youghall in the said deponent
did see the same ship in sailing at
Killybegs in Ireland, under the command
of Rodrigo de Vitoria of Legado then his
captain at that time. *Amund & H. Bar*

Margaret de Chano de St. Sebastian in
Spain married that day, and we
witness that by dint of nobil. de la
dundara witness to that, at St. Elgot
at that day as that no more.

Exemplum per dea potestatem dicit, that upon
a return by me supposing some after year
was left at a year past for the deponent then
being one of the merchants of the town of la
Vitoria, that was spent in the year of 1400,
and arrived in the same ship at Youghall in Ire-
land, and there saw a party of men
from Plymouth of a boat with some
the ship of Ireland belonging to the ship of de-
ment of the great loss, but day, then himself
that, which on June 10th was found,
and further that the same party did then
have being into the said bay of Youghall
and returned by the ship of Plymouth of
a boat by command, being with some and
captain named, of whose name the deponent
saw nothing said on land at Youghall, and
partly afterwards into a boat of the ship of
to be carried into England, perit that on the

Discovered them pilot of the said pether de la Haye
 they did well know the said pether ship
 to belong to pether de la Haye and into the said pether
 de la Haye for so the said pilot (as he
 said) had sailed in night in the same ship
 before that time, and further that he did know
 them of this deponent. Every one did well
 know the said pether, as so then said they
 to and declared. It also might be known
 but that for doubt well know the pether
 of the name of the said ship of pether de la Haye
 being a little vessel, may of a tonne
 or weight of stone, and surely the good ship
 was for so was on board the said de la Haye
 they were this deponent a few days, and
 told them in pether de la Haye that for a few days
 did find the said pether upon the sea
 and no body in it, &

During de Couray de passage in pether de la Haye
 they were among the north west of pether de la Haye
 north west by day & night, as pether de la Haye
 it did say as they were not

Examined by John Supplément de la Haye
 the quality of the pether de la Haye it was found
 to be a pether de la Haye, pether de la Haye de la Haye
 pether de la Haye de la Haye, for the deponent
 being at pether de la Haye in pether de la Haye
 de la Haye they did see the pether de la Haye
 of the name, which was of pether de la Haye
 being a little vessel, may of a tonne or weight of stone
 the deponent did well know to be a pether de la Haye
 pether de la Haye, for a pether de la Haye pether de la Haye
 deponent said he in his house there but for the
 not his name, and further they were called the
 name of pether de la Haye, being of a tonne or weight

Comme, and belonging to Thiele of Desmou
and on Dutye power, And on James Count
supplique Maje is partly dyd then buynt
with they to youssell a retayne prysse
buynt a ship of plarunia of 600 tonnes or
there aboute, further of Maje prysse the
deyement dyd then we take on the returne
Maje into a prysse of 200 tonnes, to be
transported into Wales or England, Maje
prysse the deyement saw returne to youssell
with 200 tonnes followinge lading with 200
tonnes, And more for deyement the not, but
that for the deyement send the pilot of the
said de la Ryme they then say that for the
same pilot dyd well know the said prysse
ship to be of plarunia, and send sayd in
for y veridit before that for returne to
youssell, as for prysse, And likewise for send
the m of the plarunia they openly say that
for a ship returne had founde the said prysse
upon the sea with on the any way
A

youssell de la Ryme of Guyte-Catpary
in Chypre a mariner of the ship of 200 tonnes
prysse for knowithe not any of the ship
but a prysse, And the upon the said de la
Ryme appeared at a year past for the deyo-
ment buynt in the ship of youssell with the
ship of prysse de la Ryme for salpetre and w-
the dyd then we a ship of plarunia in
Chypre amongst the other by in partly of Maje
before manye years in the deyement of Dure
de Courcy and the other for send prysse, And

and also we returned my wife then diffard
 the further of the same ship into a small
 bark of a bark by town, for shippon
 at the point then was at youngell at dirt
 Et also my wife possit deposed & returned in
 due order

Amigl
 delam

March 28. April

24th
 15th
 16th
 17th
 18th
 19th
 20th
 21st
 22nd
 23rd

petrus de lair de po' Sebastianus in Epistola
 multa etate. L. Amigl. vel noster, test. et
 Epistola p'p' p'p' dicit Johannis de Andra
 ra, dicit se bene novisse ipm Johanne miter
 et Andra, et Johanne Elliot noster p'p'p'm
 Andra, bene novit, et dicit se no novit, Et
 ad respondend dicit p'p'p'm dicit virtute p'm
 Epistola p'p'p'm, Et at a bark by day ob
 after p'p'p'm last at a yelow post for
 the deponent being in the park of youngell
 in Ireland. And the p'p'p'm brought into
 the same park, the said John de Andra
 ship lady with p'p'p'm my wife, et y'p'p'm
 of nure, nure, then being of p'p'p'm
 nure on nure side of the same park, nure
 the deponent sat the house above in y'p'p'm
 was then in, accompanying with a bark to
 Englishman, and the said was a ship of nure
 for, being in to the of Desmott and
 James Conner of nureford, p'p'p'm, and
 p'p'p'm that for d' d' will know the said John
 de Andra, ship, for for same for made at
 p'p'p'm in Epistola, and also saw the same
 ship p'p'p'm of for lady, nure, nure, the
 said part of youngell, et the said y'p'p'm of
 nure at dirt, Et also no deponent

petro de lair

... And thos was a ship of Waker
... to the of Desmont, and
... of Wakerford faphtayne, And
... for dyd well knowe the said John
... ship, for he sawe he made at
... in Hispanya, And also saw the same
... of his lady, out of Wyndesore, the
... of youngell by the ^{negating} of the said ship of
... And, Et also no Dyouth
pedro de leryn

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
12 (STAR)	13/11	ff 107v-9v	20 June 1556	Anthony Stryngar ex parte John Challoner
	13/11	ff 106v-7v	20 June 1556 (?)	Robert Starkey
	13/11	f 110	20 June 1556 (?)	Lawrence Packe
	13/11	ff 110v-11	20 June 1556 (?)	William Baitman
	13/11	ff 111-1v	20 June 1556 (?)	John Evans
	13/11	ff 112-2v	20 June 1556 (?)	John Field
	13/11	ff 113v-4v	20 June 1556 (?)	William Baitman
	13/11	ff 114v-5	20 June 1556 (?)	John Harryes
	13/11	ff 115-6	20 June 1556 (?)	John Jones Vaughan

To be by his deponent deposed touching
the same of his ordinance as before he said in
the said and further said & some in Chaloner
at the deponent of the ship from the River and many
times before had made him prisoner & he proposed
to carry the same ship to an island of his own
in Ireland named Lambay as is alleged in
the same article

To be by the deponent & it is true & to wit
the said John Chaloner should not transport
the ship named Emigrant nor any other ship nor
sailed called John Baptiste into any other place
of winds and rocks & rocks so far as but to
the of Lambay the said John nor other
persons should be bound for the same in which
bond of the same appearing in the register
of the court of the Admiralty taken by the right
honourable Mr. Doctor Cooke Judge of the
Admiralty

To be by the deponent knowing of certain
other the by advertisement from the said
Chaloner by the said that the said one is true

To be by the deponent said & he
was not present nor was the said
ship named Emigrant was taken away by
the said Cooke neither knoweth he man to give
any name but he remembereth well & om
being driven by the same in Chaloner
the a zone from the of the River going
into the said did advertise towards Ireland
the said Cooke was at the deponent of
some ship and the said ship left to stand
him and the ship there but Cooke was

Butter friends her son & And was deplored
a waye from home before marriage round
attache him and his wife herof prand his
deponent of he wold advertise m^r Calloner
who was then at Calne by his live and his
deponent did so

To he is he deposes of he gave some of
his woe prand from m^r ^{father} ^{but more}
he knoweth not

To he is he deposes of he dole well
remember when prand was granted
out of the Admirall route to charge
Coole and a said prand named Engering
was for some time founde And of by the
prand were sent over against one house and
an other house in habitant of Tyrmouth
to answer in the Admirall route into prand
matter as prand be objected against him
for belonging and magnifying the said
Coole not ^{rich} of Colodaris for prand and other
necessaries after the said Coole was sent to
Tyrmouth not of said Engering and
further sent of the said prand and Engering
to his deponent And one John ^{prand} ^{prand}
was prand the prand for ^{the same} ^{prand}
apud them of Coole did confess of the
same prand was belonging to the same
John Calloner And of Coole wold give prand
prand to binden of they wold give to
to Andelozia not ^{rich} for prand or all
the Colodaris and other prand and all
agreement And as prand as his prand were made
top and withall taken by and prand not prand
and Engering prand not all ^{prand} ^{prand} Coole
deplored a waye prand not the said prand

Johannes Bonet d'Angers priester poeghe ste martini in
campit nrota gongue d'ose elatio p'p'iamore nec
civiter l'it condicidit ut offant testib' p'p' aduocatus
int'et modo exatib' de et sup' or p'mariis p'p'icibus
alio ex parte magistri Jo'is galener dat 21^{da} 7^{da}
viny nrota alio per omny p'p'it' hat go was after
tymet a p'p'it' or p'p'it' after Easter and
about in notat' aforo myd'p'mer was in y'v'ot
last y'v'ot he accom'nyed the said nrota p'p'it'
galener into Bonwell's negar' at 16th p'p'it'
negar' the said nrota galener had a p'p'it' d'ile
d'it nrota d'eforo p'p'it' was d'ile d'it d'ile
of Calico ab p'p'it' p'p'it' nrota galener nrota
for and nrota d'ile d'ile in p'p'it' nrota p'p'it'
also nrota p'p'it' was d'ile d'ile at nrota
p'p'it' nrota p'p'it' Eugeni' of Lambay d'it
the said p'p'it' nrota alterid and made in p'p'it'
p'p'it' viz nrota a r'v'nde p'p'it' or d'ile nrota
nrota nrota p'p'it' nrota in p'p'it' nrota d'ile
d'ile nrota p'p'it' d'ile in the p'p'it' of nrota
p'p'it' and also one offer nrota d'ile d'ile
p'p'it' nrota p'p'it' d'ile on d'ile d'ile or
d'ile nrota and nrota from the nrota nrota
forward and rayled by d'ile d'ile of p'p'it' and
quarter p'p'it' nrota p'p'it' nrota p'p'it'
moft' nrota in d'ile in the p'p'it' and nrota
and more d'ile p'p'it' d'ile nrota the said nrota
Galener d'it ray for the nrota of p'p'it' and
was nrota d'ile and takey for d'ile
owner of p'p'it' as well of the nrota as also
of d'ile offer in Calico to p'p'it' p'p'it' and
knowledg' for as p'p'it' p'p'it' p'p'it' in p'p'it'
after p'p'it' was d'ile d'ile p'p'it' in p'p'it'
of the p'p'it' d'ile d'ile d'ile d'ile d'ile
p'p'it' to d'ile nrota p'p'it' Calico and from
p'p'it' d'ile d'ile p'p'it' d'ile d'ile in
in p'p'it' d'ile d'ile or d'ile and in d'ile nrota
the nrota of d'ile nrota p'p'it' d'ile nrota
nrota or d'ile nrota and d'ile nrota
and also p'p'it' d'ile nrota nrota nrota
nrota in p'p'it' in p'p'it' p'p'it' p'p'it'
of one d'ile the said p'p'it' d'ile d'ile
being d'ile of Calico d'ile d'ile d'ile
p'p'it' nrota d'ile nrota nrota and
the d'ile by p'p'it' d'ile d'ile d'ile
d'ile d'ile d'ile d'ile

out on the p'p'it'
the p'p'it' d'ile
d'ile d'ile

but nrota d'ile
nrota d'ile
p'p'it' d'ile
p'p'it' d'ile
d'ile d'ile
d'ile d'ile
d'ile d'ile

8
officer and
challenger

consentibus factis p[ro]prio m[en]te p[ro]p[ri]o p[ro]p[ri]o p[ro]p[ri]o p[ro]p[ri]o
London Etatis p[ro]p[ri]o p[ro]p[ri]o p[ro]p[ri]o p[ro]p[ri]o p[ro]p[ri]o p[ro]p[ri]o
affuit testib[us] p[ro]ductib[us] p[ro]p[ri]o p[ro]p[ri]o p[ro]p[ri]o p[ro]p[ri]o p[ro]p[ri]o
et sup[er] quadam p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a
Chalener d[icit] d[icit] p[er] v[er]u[m] i[n]t[er] al[ia] p[er] e[un]d[em] p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a
about y[ea]r or i[n] y[ea]res ab h[ec] d[icit] n[on] remembre h[ec]
com[un]g by Sainwello w[ar]doffspring or p[ro]p[ri]a
in t[ri]um[ph]ing and making p[ro]p[ri]a h[ec] asked
w[ar]doffspring it was and h[ec] w[ar]doffspring of h[ec]
p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a it was i[n] Chalener p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a
further h[ec] p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a after the p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a
and launched the p[ro]p[ri]a this deponent ^{ship was made}
request of h[ec] p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a Chalener (then com[un]g
to the head p[ro]p[ri]a office and requiring declaring
that h[ec] had or p[ro]p[ri]a in the p[ro]p[ri]a and
requiring y[ea]t an officer p[ro]p[ri]a of h[ec] p[ro]p[ri]a office
might come to p[ro]p[ri]a h[ec] for that p[ro]p[ri]a was
b[ar]ons in to a certey p[ro]p[ri]a in Ireland and
cant p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a h[ec] p[ro]p[ri]a Chalener p[ro]p[ri]a
lying in h[ec] p[ro]p[ri]a there fynding i[n] Chalener
and certey m[ar]ryners w[ar]e at w[ar]e tyme h[ec]
deponent and p[ro]p[ri]a h[ec] p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a and p[ro]p[ri]a
the v[er]u[m]als and ordnan[ce] i[n] h[ec] p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a
last y[ea]r p[ro]p[ri]a of w[ar]e and certey b[ar]ons arrowes
and p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a many in m[ar]ryners p[ro]p[ri]a not
tell h[ec] p[ro]p[ri]a h[ec] deponent want p[ro]p[ri]a w[ar]e
and more h[ec] can not say p[ro]p[ri]a y[ea]t h[ec] p[ro]p[ri]a
p[ro]p[ri]a was made in all h[ec] p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a h[ec]
~~and more p[ro]p[ri]a and p[ro]p[ri]a~~

32

Whithunne þairtway þat he seate marie matfelow
þat he seate seate þat he seate seate
Omnibus et omnibus et omnibus et omnibus
condicio ut appuit tēpō alio productū nūmō
et modo exāitū de se sup quādā pūmā
relicūe ex pte magni tēpō Galenō Sab^{re}
vīn þ insamēti alio res enī exēpiti þat at
lāmūab was i yere east easte tēpō exāitū was
of tēpō aborde in Galenō exāitū nūmōlō þat was
in making from a p f p p p p p p p p p p
and d y d p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p
deputē d y d p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p
after tēpō p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p
of tēpō tēpō p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p
deponēti to be tēpō of tēpō p p p p p p p p
p
into Ireland and was of tēpō tēpō in tēpō p p
p
brought in victuals into p p at tēpō charge
of tēpō p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p
at tēpō p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p
i tēpō of tēpō p p p p p p p p p p p p p p
in tēpō p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p
mān mān a fore mān and a m p p p p
mān and was made eā nōt nōt p p p p
and a fāre Calēy of nāin p p p p p p p p
lōe a tēpō p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p
p
at tēpō p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p
to tēpō and Calēy and from tēpō p p
of p
was a tēpō p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p
Calēy a tēpō p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p
on land tēpō p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p p
p
p p

111
from the master and mariners of the said
against the willoe and mynde and all the
virtually and ordnamet in for and the
John Galens was the manyd recorde and
taken as lawful owner of and vicary of the
said ^{ship} and as owner of the said say the mariners
were wages and provided the victuals and
necessaries for the said viage and
now for that and more he can prove
any of the contents of this said summary
petition all not shew before prescribed to
be and notorie

[illegible]

did not and altho the said Richard Cook
 in brief with others of his crew of the said vessel
 to sail in for wife as his part, said for
 obtaining the consent of some of the men
 and put out no other thing but in officers
 and one of the said Cook was sent for
 and said he was enough for his money and
 out after his money to be of the said
 money and would not consent to do so
 and for the same reason of the said
 money and the said vessel and for the
 his deponent saith that one Richard
 Cowfawards indorments of Bryson &
 at the said in Galenore and in the
 deponent's power and in the said
 warrant out of the Admirall court
 to attach the body of the said Richard Cook
 upon or over for founde him to answer
 to the said in Galenore for that he had
 procured him of the said money and for
 saith that he never saw the said money
 nor for arrears but saith that he
 Galenore and after say that he was owner
 of the said money and for him much
 cannot say the loss of for and more for
 primary petition

^{conspiring in}
 his disteal all the traffique of merchandise ^{that} came
 to the name of and doing of Francis Thores and
 his brother And he saith that ^{that}
 appeared against the said Thores after tyme
 anythynge in the way of the said Thores and his
 of concealinge and other letteris misse made
 in the name of Francis Thores and his
 brother as in our ^{owne} private and
 secretes and counsailes And other not regis-
 tered at Gaithersburgh Francis Thores abiding for a tyme
 and after so went Francis Thores and after
 his George Thores and after his Jerome Thores
 to it and gave all their ^{and} ^{and} ^{and}
 brother and counsailes in all secretes and name
 of Francis Thores and his brother by the
 commonwele reputed and taken among
 themselves as well English as strangers to
 his hearing And he saith that it is used in
 in flanders in Lioub in venice and in other
 contries yf yf eldest brother of the name
 concealinge to gether in all secretes of wisdom
 disteal is manye and wayther in all wayther
 and doinge And his brother And after the eldest
 disteal the second brother and so on after
 in other as any of yf secretes by the said
 more so can not say at this

3

Eng portus addm' sine doluato
 ad mto pumato polimany

P. Johes Chaloner by 2 William Bailman petic State manie melfon
 grandam nasem Refat
 the Engoumb of Lancy Septa Regate State clay Amore not in vites
 128
 Ominid opus Amore in Cond Effor & et in dicit
 ut affuit feped all exaductus Juratib et mado equatib
 de et puz vaimib Ominid aliter p xarto Johes Chaloner
 dat at xer viny Juramentib all per omny affite

111

It is remembered that of Monday last being the
xxij day of this present month of September the
said Count being then at Portsmouth the said
the said ship called the Lugonius lying in
a stocke nyght to Portsmouth and was aboard
of her and David her and the said ship is
the same which was repaired by the said
Chaloner and labor from then by the said Richard
Cole and his company as to the said Count
expressed in his deposition upon the Summarie
petition also next

It is also remembered that he did also see upon the same
Monday in Portsmouth in the King and the
Count's forge forger he did also see the if for
particularity of Craft mentioned in his deposition
upon the said Summarie petition the which was
as he saw then he knew then to be the same
Chaloner for the said ship and was not there in
the said ship Chaloner's company nor was
labor by the said Cole and his company and
the names of others who made then be granted
in letters upon the same words to his signet
seal

It is also remembered that of the said Count
of the said ship the said laborer et laborer

marinas
Joseph Harrison Bogib Chaloner
Chaloner person admiral of the ship
visiter Orinid in Cinto Exon at condon
at affinit 1816

Old prison as ⁱⁿ sight of contrast in so remote
redoubt campain stentio pro sit that about all
have halowine tyda next to ^{campain} Calbe in yord directly
after the was repaired and made spring by
at ^{portmanteau} ^{rewards} being good to put in
the by the said Bogib Chaloner being lawful
owner of the said frame the road in the
River of Champs next to Calico and from
Calico into the coast of ^{campain} Ireland in the
west of Youghall near Shortley off after per
myself. The was labor away from the possession
of the m^r and the marinas of percy on
Youghall. Cost of the rate and the compensation
the good pay for restenlye he can not pay
for that he was put by the said m^r Chaloner
found the said ship at Youghall afore said
portly after the arrival into the the Isle
of Lamsay. And he says that on
Saturday was put in last past before the
his examining saying he was at portmanteau

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repose in the Haven there he was aboard the said
 synnyb called the Eugenius and set to know
 certainly y^t the is the same synnyb w^{ch} was
 deposed by the said in frame Calico into
 Ireland at the profit of it also nest
 the y^d ar^d said y^t nest deposed
 the return said y^t deposed the first
 at also nest

Johannes Jones v^{er}gentis p^{re}tor p^{re}dicti s^{an}cti martini
 in campis iⁿtra Charing cross Etatis xxvj an^{no}
 vel citius l^{ite} cordicis ut affuit testis

the y^d
 the y^d said said the y^d synnyb lying in the
 docks of portsmouth having a new route the queen
 store house there is the self same synnyb in all
 respects of making as the said deposed upon
 the said summary petition to his rights and
 knowledge for as he said that upon the Tuesday
 being the xxij days of the month of September
 he the said w^{ch} ~~synnyb~~ ~~deposed~~ and
 Ireland was on board the said synnyb
 in the said docks and made m^oys in for
 w^{ch} restains of the w^{ch} came in at ~~the~~
 m^oys of the said synnyb w^{ch} was the
 w^{ch} said synnyb w^{ch} said deposed was not of the
 the said synnyb but the said said synnyb
 one of the said the said synnyb and further
 said that in the queen's smithy at
 Portsmouth he saw and handled in w^{ch} of
 brass there called ~~the~~ ^{the} name of
 the said and he saw w^{ch} he knew to
 be the self same in w^{ch} of brass w^{ch} he
 before said deposed was in his deposed
 upon the said summary petition

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
20 (STAR)	13/15	ff 251-2v	6 December 1564	William Thackwell

Offm Om
mulum Jussu
Cmity Testu

Omio
etaty
exatatu

Expetit fuit
roram magro
Lewes fudire gr
In pntia mori
Loytri Parker
Hyvarij o

Ad fr
offm

Ad. 2

ff ab
exiant

from
mope

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[illegible]

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
24 (STAR)	13/17	ff 269-70	14 February 1570	Peter Duperry
	13/17	ff 285-6v	6 March 1570	John Morrys
	13/17	ff 296-7	24 March 1570	William Coppinger
	13/17	f 303	8 April 1570	Peter Duperry
	13/17	ff 303v-5	9 April 1570	Thomas Seale
	13/17	ff 305v-6	12 April 1570	German Bryan
	13/17	ff 322v-5v	18 April 1570	James Coursey
	13/17	ff 349v-50	27 April 1570	Bartholomew le Bourden
	13/17	ff 374-5	25 May 1570	David Goldinge
	13/17	ff 375-6	25 May 1570	John Berry

John Golding
Esq. of the County of
Essex

Roussions

of the County of Essex

Exhibet hunc codicem
et vult per litteras
dire et in dicitur
hunc et per litteras
na: Litteras et

In vobis vniuersis
Summarij articuli
pro et contra eum
et contra eum
et contra eum
et contra eum

Ad prima videt et videt eandem
videt et alio non videt eandem
in hoc monitione libellatus
fuit John Golding Esq. of the County of Essex
and fuit eum non in vobis
et alio non videt eandem esse verum

Ad secundam videt et quantum videt
et videt eandem non retineat veritatem in
aliqua forma

Ad tertiam videt et videt Quod in
hoc monitione libellatus hoc non videt
was not at vobis but that he longe
before his departure from the said
require his letter to demand by order
of justice of peace may as should come
before from vobis and had received
the vident goods, restitution of the
vident goods said goods speyld at
vobis et alio non videt eandem esse
vera Gaing he hokintz that his

Land Holding
Exposuio Skiddy
et fo. 23 my
Hicm duxit L. duxor

Pinbr
Pme
Hro

Legitit fuit eod } et fo
dit uod by lawe } et
fudire et in edibg }
sub et p m me }
ba: Lest ed et } Ad

becc

munit^{is} fuisse requisitum in^{te} Lib^{ri} tantum ol^{is} q^{uod} in^{te} v^{er}o
 Et al^{ia} p^{er} v^{er}o et q^{uod}

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Ad secundum breviter videtur et videtur
subditum esse magis quibus ratio / Ad magis
transcendens / et quibus Litis quoniam veritas
est in alio foro / Et aliter magis videtur
sane esse verum.

Ad decima quarta videt querelas
ess ad vos Sny fiduciam de 2^{te} Sny
Agentum minus tamen lino et suo
ra et alio noy videt eand esse vera

Ad ultimum vendit et reddit redita et
negata negata / 3 3 113
1174077011

Sir pezzey

Die nimmij de dao *Ademarij*
Anno 1569.

[illegible]

Ad prima ponem videt et refert
ad 2^o inoyapha et 3^o huius evidentia
Et 4^o iudicio exhibet et ad 5^o ma Et alr noy
Credidit eand refertur ventabm maliqua 2^o

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Almud vundet et riddet riddita et
negata

3 3
Il pezzey

Die nimmij de dao ffebmairij
Anno 1569.

iones de buolot autt omi vaupele

Dr Diet

David Golding
et alij & Petrus
Imper...

Repetit fuit ad
die tota hanc
Lewes fuit ad ex
in dabo sub

Johannes Morris Ville de Yorkgal
 in Regno Gallie hinc nanta lxxi
 annis etatis xxvij annorum aut de
 turribus lxxi in hac ca p d m h b o d i l
 se nobis lxxi Golding x duodim
 Amos Johanne lxxi ol. p d m h b o d i l
 a p u e n t i a s u a p o t u n y d u e n n y n o y
 nobil

Ad primum dicit et deponit qd at abbat
fuerunt vos past feci and Gaby Golding
Joan Gaby and proper Kiddy did
bring to a supp of King all of the bndry
of the same place comes to playe for wh
from home to vbid and any vndat
Bndry of the deponent sigt was
vt King all the exanant was at that
tyme

[illegible]

derland was prishmore in London
 w^{ch} dead freight was paid at the rate
 of 100^l 8^s 6^d per Tonne All w^{ch} charges
 his dependent derlant by virtue of
 his rathe to be true for & at
 and also to unlade the goods
 wines and some the blagimost proof
 and was put in the forward sign
 Eddies house and some the payment
 of the same freight was made
 was paid in ready money and in
 wines at diut. Et alii nescit

Ad videndum quod dicitur deinde sum
 et dicitur quod nescit alii dicitur
 in hunc modum et attestatur est
 Ad ultimum dicitur per dicitur de omni
 et alii nescit

Sept 24 1869

David Williams of
July 8th 1860

Verleitet sich der
Die noch ungen
Vestros Indire
meditirt sich

Decimo 24. Mense 1169
 296
 Willm Copinger
 Ville de Votburgh in Regno habundant
 habitant in presentibus et in futuro
 habitant in presentibus et in futuro
 Anno regni 24. Mense 1169
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And perinde in hunc et perinde attestatur
it dicit. Et at before y^e year 1566
ye this Defendant being at Wexell & other
visited from Wexell in a ship of
the same place did see the same agents
and one Richard Myagge & his to
have a ship of Ireland called by the
name of Joseph laden wth Wine
of France and mantell Wexell & Wexell
they made sale of the same for Wexell
Wexell and they told this furall that
they were sold unto Wexell to be sold
within Wexell accordingly they did not
know this furall Wexell how yet right
to be sold within for his master the said
Francis Wexell but for that he under-
stood that Wexell were Wexell & Wexell
beside at Wexell But as this
Defendant Wexell the said agents did
how Wexell and Wexell Wexell to
be transported to Wexell the said

As toward dirt of this deponent
verby knowledge to the said agent
did give the actual for
the ship was called the James of
the main of the hundred of Cox
Comes of the above said ship
they first arrived at Lough and
there made sale of the goods
there brought and from there
sailed to London. The agent
did not see the freight of every come
of the said ship until the ship arrived
into the said London by the way the
there made with the said deponent did
be at Lough as before said at appendix

The fourth dirt that after the said
1566 the said deponent being at Lough
as before said did know the said ship
before said agent and said verby mind
and said laden to pay in the said before said
the said ship and did see the said ship
to be transported into Ireland

The fifth dirt of deponent so no other
deponent de notitia sua but by report
of the said at Lough as before said the said before said
agent George Lacey the said agent in the

howe the fugg and fugg
hart and the land stayed and the
not of the fugg and fugg to the coming
of the next deponent

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Ad Joho Duit that the same
time the deponent came at the fall
in the land was not the fugg to the coming
for the fugg fugg that the fugg and
fugg

Ad Joho Duit deponent

Ad Joho Duit deponent

Ad Joho Duit that about the
month following the deponent brother
coming to the deponent did the fugg
the fugg deponent the fugg deponent
in the fugg the fugg the fugg the fugg
the fugg the fugg the fugg the fugg
the fugg the fugg the fugg the fugg
the fugg the fugg the fugg the fugg

Ad Joho Duit et dicit that
about the time the deponent he the
fugg the fugg the fugg the fugg
the fugg the fugg the fugg the fugg
the fugg the fugg the fugg the fugg
the fugg the fugg the fugg the fugg
the fugg the fugg the fugg the fugg
the fugg the fugg the fugg the fugg
the fugg the fugg the fugg the fugg

Quæstiones

Quædā Godefridus et
alij petunt
impetunt

facte pombus et institutis transmissis allegatis
et exhibitis ad contrarium p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m
Godefridus Godefridus et alij et p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m

Debetur fuit
die lune sequenti
coram p[re]sidentibus
et alij p[re]sidentibus
et alij p[re]sidentibus

Ad hunc allegatum et exhibitum videtur et
dicitur Quod t[er]ra s[an]c[t]a exhibitum interpositum
und p[ro]p[ter] hunc transmissum contrarium p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m
p[ro]p[ter] t[er]ra s[an]c[t]a p[ro]p[ter] p[ro]cessu[m] n[on] est p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m
to make for t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] p[ro]p[ter] t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m
enely, t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] p[ro]p[ter] t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m
p[ro]p[ter] p[ro]p[ter] t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m And t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m
t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m was not at B[er]n[u]m h[un]c
p[ro]p[ter] at t[er]ra t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m
t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m did d[omi]n[u]m t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m
And at t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] h[un]c not t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m
p[ro]p[ter] t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] h[un]c
t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] h[un]c not bound to answer to t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m
exhibitis And if h[un]c be bound s[an]c[t]a to d[omi]n[u]m
h[un]c desirunt t[er]ra h[un]c may habere t[er]ra
to l[un]c und instant h[un]c s[an]c[t]a p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m
p[ro]p[ter] p[ro]p[ter] p[ro]p[ter] t[er]ra t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m
contentis p[ro]p[ter] t[er]ra p[ro]p[ter] d[omi]n[u]m

Omnia nono die Aprilis 1570

Thomas Searle

Sancti Martini in Venetia civis et mercator
tunc factus Londoni ubi habitavit
quodammodo in oppido plurimum et
tunc aut eo tunc testis in patra
et dicitur et dicitur per Tadeo Godefrido
Godefrido et Godefrido et Godefrido
et tunc per Godefrido et dicitur et dicitur
et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur
et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur

Ad primam dicitur et dicitur et dicitur
et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur
et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur
et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur
et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur

Ad secundam dicitur et dicitur et dicitur
et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur
et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur
et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur
et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur
et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur
et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur
et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur et dicitur

It was of the body of our
Landed or free abode as he
Invent and depose from the
Landed or free abode as he
and now more. And yet that he
deponent after the said said
Selling the said land (as the
was ⁱⁿ the said) that he
physy was declared to his deponent
that he was arrested by the
Peter Juxen or his brother and removed
to the same physy

As touching what it deponent that
to his finally now remembrance
Landed or free abode was how very at
di and to be removed to some and no
more the time at present

As touching what it deponent that
the said Captain Monst
also declared to his deponent that
the said land in his ship was the
nearest to the land of land

As touching what it deponent that in
his finally judgement by reason
of the said arrest and removal
of the same Monst from the
did land and was seized by the same

Ad nunc dicit et dicitur quod at one fatink
 Miagee and one other viche may was
 Amaynd in pishy untill fure ^{time} of random
 nacye passed against ~~the day~~ ^{the day} after to in
 wif was fure the fure of 1506 untill the
 deponent running from Agence wif the
 fure of 1508 and at the fure of
 running from the fure, so lost the all
 in pishy being in number in pishy and
 at the deponent fure the fure running
 the betwixt Miagee remaynd in pishy
 untill october last at dnt.

Ad dendum dicit et dicitur quod at
 the fure of Captaine Mount dnt
 to the deponent that after the fure
 maye vnde was aresh and laid on
 land the same fure maye gave
 unto the fure of many recompense
 of the dainage and fure at dnt

Ad nunc dnd dnd dnd dnd dnd
 dnd dnd dnd dnd dnd

Ad ult. dnt dnt dnt dnt dnt

Mercurij 12 Aprilis 1579

Germannis

de redditis in roud Enn nanta hbi
habitant & bigniti annos mil do rrebr
vannidus in opido de Knobberget in Regno
vibne etat & lra amoy ant de mnt
eshs in par rco durbus & dnt
Purid Golding for annu & Barre
vpoferum & lra & dnt amoy
Mercurij Superius & dnt aut hbi
Amos & pportinet bnd mnt

Reperit fuit eod die
foud & Looes pnt
or sup gradus etat
qaz & Enn pauli
London & pnt
me tra: lrted

Ad plinu & rmdm bnd quertm
fnnlm & rtm & rtm & rtm
libelli mnt deponere

Ad noud dnt et dperit. Hat he
fnd Suby Golding dnt & rtm
fnd & rtm & rtm in pnt
Gndm & rtm & rtm & rtm
he spare of & rtm & rtm
mndent as for mnt & rtm
in pnt & rtm & rtm
by he mndent of Peter & rtm
of Bndm & rtm & rtm
rtm & rtm & rtm
did talke and had mnt
fnd & rtm in he fnd & rtm
mndent & rtm & rtm
et dnt & rtm

Ad dnt & rtm & rtm
bnd & rtm & rtm

Thomas Ball
et Joanna Comp
bona et bona Actu
et Joseph
Wattson

2. Lethis super
Lithell

Edward
Blackwell
Anno 9
my son
Anno testis
et ex animal
Anno 18
Thomas Clou
et Joseph
Wattson

Regent adri dnd rmd
2. Lethis judice et
adri dnd rmd et
sub mo rmd rmd

Ad pmm
articuli in
attestatur et

The said Earl of Somerset & at Somerset
 last was two years before and David
 Golding, Lord Barry and Thomas Stoddy
 and Sir Kinfall in a ship called
 it belonging to the Earl
 of Somerset towards London about
 the eighth & tenth of my lady's we were
 at London they arrived at after some
 my to the said Earl's house known
 for that it was the boy of the Earl
 and also said in God to London
 before and so did it

[illegible]

Ad burning dirt That of his
to humantie vnder Knowledge hee said
of Luddy & one. In said measure

did take to feign of my Lord
Desmond's servant the said Juss
the feigning in Kinsall for
the feign of 200^l & 7^l to come for
the said Juss he is excommunicant in company
of the said Juss went to London
ab his brother W^m Juss of the said
city of London was of the said Juss
the said Juss was commonly accounted
to be the said Juss

And further dicit et deponit that
of his excommunicant, first he said
the said Juss did take 200^l & 7^l to come
for the said Juss he is excommunicant in company
of the said Juss went to London
ab his brother W^m Juss of the said
city of London was of the said Juss
the said Juss was commonly accounted
to be the said Juss

And further dicit et deponit that
the said Juss did take 200^l & 7^l to come
for the said Juss he is excommunicant in company
of the said Juss went to London
ab his brother W^m Juss of the said
city of London was of the said Juss
the said Juss was commonly accounted
to be the said Juss

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In the year 1660 as before said
 James was not Lady as the
 same was of the Lady and also
 the said Eddy and Fording
 the same to my self were severally
 arrested at the said of the said
 Peter Dunsen as the deponent said
 it reported by the bodies of the
 committed to the prison as early as
 the of company James by the
 James Dunsen to the against Ireland
 By the way of the said the deponent
 James was not Lady was
 kept there at Wanders and could not
 be released, the same James afterwards
 was taken to the prison was for the
 sake of the Lord for under any by the
 the said Lady in the said but the
 James was the of the same
 noble said not for him the said
 saw the said James of the said
 the of the

As the deponent said it deponent that of
 the deponent said the of the
 James of the said the said Lady
 Dunsen the said the said at
 Wanders by the said Eddy at the

Ad secundum dict et deponit Tat
 after the arrival of the said
 ship in port the Master
 & Mariners of the said ship did by order
 of the crew at the same Edward
 bound for the said freight of the
 ship when they were due to
 the brother to the said
 Deponer Edward appeared before the
 Mayor of Court all his exponents & all
 his company of the said ship being
 put to vote satisfied and paid unto
 the Master & Mariners of his exponents
 the sum of £100 for freight
 of the said ship & the said
 brother found that Lady Mary had
 the ship at London when as his
 exponent truly solemnly swears
 Lady his full complement had not
 the said ship & imprisonment by

Ad videndum dict et deponit Tat
 of his exponent first he before the
 said Deponer Edward's brother was
 found to pay the £100 paid in
 for unpaid freight for the said freight

nullo tpe moister & manibus qd tpe
 pado fuisse tpe, hofue tpe pado
 pados emto be rotatod. Et ab
 qd ppe tpe not pado tpe pado pado
 tpe pado tpe pado tpe pado
 tpe pado tpe pado tpe pado
 tpe pado tpe pado tpe pado
 tpe pado tpe pado tpe pado
 tpe pado tpe pado tpe pado

Ad duodecimum dicitur tunc et dicitur
 quartum nescit respondere

Ad ultimum dicitur pado tpe tpe
 tpe

March 18 Aprilis

Consones personales Johannis Baptiste
 Martini facti allegatod sine matine
 et contra eum pro parte Nicolai Rahna
 et Corfue Augustini Lumbardine et Pauli
 Andree

Repetit fuit die
 Martini 19 die
 Aprilis corfue
 Lumbardine
 et Pauli Andree

Et dictum allegatod sine matine ab
 initio eiusdem tpe ad hoc tpe et
 negat eundem tpe tpe tpe tpe

therem nomme ^{by mye} ho ^{the} better
 knoweth for that the said Robert
 Lambert ys a partner wth the said Robert
 in a certain hoy and thow by reason
 dyvers writings halfe passed between
 them under his hande and seale and by that
 occasion ys the better in the wth the
 said his hand and seale of the
 Doyenne

by me John Clarke

Die Jovis 27 Aprilis 1576

David Golding
 et alij contra
 Petrum deperay

Barthus le Bourdon
 Dicens in Britania nanta iliq
 amand etat vob et vobis amorem apt co
 rrititer testis in hac ra eductus innotat
 et animatus dicit se David Golding
 p^{re}sumo. Quia et p^{re}sumo p^{re}sumo
 p^{re}sumo tantum p^{re}sumo dixit non
 nobis

Ad primam deinde et tertiam artic
 libelli dicit se nosse deperay

Ad tertiam quartam quintam sextam et
 septimam articulum dicit deperay
 duodecimam decimam tertiam et decimam
 quartam articulos dicit libelli dicit et

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That about forre year past
 his exequient was at Bunden
 of his house in the port of
 the Looe of Bunden a friend
 of his exequient had also a ship
 bound to the port of Bunden
 where declared to his exequient that
 they might have a freight
 ship to transport wares from
 into Ireland we were first
 bound to the port of Bunden
 also to his friend who by
 sea of late interest in the same
 ship and pulley of the same
 but notwithstanding all this
 found a way of his freight
 to the same wares ^{by the same freight} and sent
 them to his exequient

Ad Almuu dicit prodegitia f on effe
 Mora per

Examinatus et repetitus fuit ad interpretacoem
 Jacobi dittrithe linguam gallicanum bene loquen
 habitantis in parochia sancti Leonardi

Ad Almund dicit prodegitia f. on effe
Mora per

Examinatus et repetitus fuit ad interpretationem
Jacobi ditvrithe linguam gallicanum bene loquen
habitantis in parochia sancti Leonardi

My allegacion et exparte exhibito 372

Super exhibicionem operatum vident et vident
fat hie et tunc homas fatus distinet
et layed out in immunitate et tunc abone
hodie hie fone of fone for fone
vident et tunc fone fone fone
denayed nor at hie fone fone
accuset tunc fone fone fone
my fone fone fone fone
of fone fone fone fone

Die Jovis 29. Maij 1570

Provisiones
Datus Solomoni et alij
petenti in fone fone fone
et exparte alij et tunc
du fone fone fone fone

Exposit fuit oed a
du fone fone fone
fudino et tunc fone
fone et tunc fone
Exposit fone fone

Super allegacion et exhibito fone vident
et vident fat fone a fone ab fone
fone fone fone of fone hie fone
of parliament of Bontone movingfully and
fone fone fone fone fone of Justice
fone fone fone fone fone fone
fone fone fone fone fone fone
fone fone fone fone fone fone
fone fone fone fone fone fone
fone fone fone fone fone fone

And to fone fone fone fone fone

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So die

Salv. Gohringe &
Hij & Hofman dnr

170 die
 Salut. Göttinge 24
 1707
 Consiones
 fars Bombis clasticulis inungam allegarab
 et exhibit alb rontea in 200 lb Petri Dupery
 dat / Equitms /
 Recolitus vidi dno

Facilius videtur
tota & Lower
indus et in
edibus

Ony allegatōe of exhibitōe hinc vnder of
credit That suggest sentence as the first
exhibit speaketh of was by the default of
Parliament of Banders Wrongfully and
Witwōrds cause against the order of Justice and
equity given against the respondent and his
company So with default of and his said
company had appealed And in that said appeal
could not be heard as wist Wold

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Two Die

170 die
 Salu. Gotinge et
 alij q Petrus dno
 Consiones p duales foh annu Gang
 facti pombis elatitriculis rumpam allegarab
 et exhibit ubi rontea ad 400 pl Petri dmpem
 dat / Equitms /
 Recolitus ordi dno

Facilius est de
mā & Lōmā
hūmā & in
edūm

Our allegaſſes et exhibitis ſumme vnder et
redit That ſugges ſentence as the firſt
exhibit ſpeaketh of was by the default of
Parliament of Banders Wrongfully and
Unlawfully taken againſt the order of Juſtice and
equity by way againſt the ſaid default and ſub
vamping So wth ſentences and ſub ſentences
ſummary had appealed And in the ſaid appeal
ſhould not be heard as wth ſentences

And to the transaction passed between
said Peter du Perre and Sir John Meade
of the University and says that they then
voluntarily to each other of purpose to leave
his indent Gold ingo and Sir John
in Launce and pay to pay the Meade
redemption and so the said Meade to be
at liberty. It is said that Sir John Meade
said Meade as he had made sure a transaction
as is exhibited to show him self and to
leave his indent and his redemption
to be transferred to the Meade. For after
the same had passed one came unto the
perre and told his indent and his
company that the said Meade had
betrayed him and went about to kill
the perre in passage of said
transaction.

And foregoing the ratification of
said Sir John Meade to said transaction
made by his indent to the said Sir John
and Sir John returned still in prison
the spare of the month after and
the perre sustained great misery, poverty
and sickness beinge sundry and many
times like to die. Havinge declared
unto the perre as well from the President
of the Parliament as also by the said
Peter du Perre brother in law that

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Stained money
at age of George
Maynard

Leopold für
 den 1. März
 1870
 In der
 Kaiserlichen
 Hofbibliothek
 Berlin

Georgius Maynard exide + humilis
yungus de yunatus et examinatus de, et su
quibusdam articulis ex parte suo interroga
toris contra eum pro parte Lodowic Mendez et
aliorum iuratoz Luritanos. dat et obiecti sunt
et deponit et sequitur

Albano mondoz
et alij q. Georgii
maynor

Booth fuit
tad die rova
Lewes fudine
In putia mor
Loyin Parkoo
Loyranij

C
yo

qu
Hori

ahor
et

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
27 (STAR)	13/19	ff 378v- 80v	10 February 1573	Thomas More

farta fuit synodra saiaio ad mbrystarom
fzoo fozmo mrdans anglo mtepho
mroati

Neronetto de la pdr

Edm die 1872

Donna personali fuit per Thomam Montfort magni
ferenmitis personibus et utriusque imperii libelli ab eo com
pro parte Andree Dithmarlonge

Ind. 12. In primam et secundam p[ar]te[m] r[ec]ordat et dicit, That in october
the xij year of her ma[aj]tie Reigne, the said Arthymelome bargayned
with his said baron in the haven of purmorthe, wherof he
was then owner, And in the said p[ar]te the said Arthym-
elome to th[is] r[ec]ordant passed betwixt them, an a[n]nua[n]t and
apperteyne, for the whiche he was well and truly paid, by his
s[ai]d r[ec]ordant therefor, by the sale or excha[n]ge of a p[ar]te of his s[ai]d
s[ai]d shipp, called the Garfyn, sold at that tyme to the
said Arthymelome, wh[ic]h by a[n]nua[n]t declaracion constat

Ad ferream, quantum, quicquamque puncto condit et rodit eas
contineat peritalem in qualis eadem parte

was required by performance of the voyage, and that he had
 consumed the ship's store and freight, and that he was
 and had brought the said ship's store out of order to the
 the might be better provided on the voyage, (inasmuch as
 was unable to do it) and for that he found many things required to
 give the ship to go forward, upon ^{commitment} ~~commitment~~ and recon-
 vance betwixt his indent, and the said Archdeacon
 and his wife, because he found Archdeacon's indent to his
 indent for the said ship's store, and that he his indent
 should take on him the whole voyage to finish the
 voyage to Captain Harrison, he found Archdeacon's indent
 to his indent again by good contract passed betwixt
 them, and upon his own free will he found more of the
 said Archdeacon / So as hereby he his indent was
 indebted to the whole ship's store again being left for him to
 return the same and he being formerly engaged and
 bound to him as he did / Et alia non ulla poindam
 esse verum

In decimam sectionem venit et credit he same to be his own
 proper as by his declaration is manifested and therefore
 as he believed not to be wronged, yet he believed he to be
 wronged as he is

In decimam sectionem venit et credit cum non esse verum in
 aliquo

In decimam sectionem venit, Et quod he same bene in proventus
 made by the, hence to Captain as before, and he is to
 Captain Harrison at his indent's great advantage
 and loss, Et alia non credit

In decimam sectionem venit et credit cum non esse verum, for
 the said Archdeacon's report of the same

Ad primam vendit, et patet per id quod vendit omne propter
non esse balenatque de se promittit de or hunc abone

Ad primam primam vendit et facit acquisitionem, jam
habet, et in se vendit de rursus promittit, dicit hunc
omne finem promittit

Ad primam secundam vendit et credit eandem non esse peram
in aliquo

Ad primam tertiam vendit et facit, sed non actione
finis hunc

Ad primam quartam vendit de se quod dicit esse

Ad ultimam vendit et credit credita et negat negata

Edmunda maris
Thomas Gardner et perorja fante la
William Lloyd et perorja fante la
6 testis fante la qua rinitate dicit a nativitate sua, et abo rinitate
amorum testis et dicit se William Lloyd per quinq
Repositus fuit rinitate
die rinitate magis rinitate bene magis
fante la dicit

Ad primam, secundam, et tertiam rinitate in primis rinitate
reponit et dicit se rinitate quinq deponere

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
29 (STAR)	13/19	ff 420-21	28 March 1573	John Brodeway

1573

John Brodway

John Brodway

of Parishes, wth m^o the
parisse of Skene, m^o m^o m^o and examined
before m^o Doctor James Judge of the High Court
of Admiralty of the late coming from the
and in great distress

Says by virtue of his oth that sometime before
the said last coming to the said m^o in the
coming to the said m^o of the said m^o of the
was the said m^o to be the said m^o of the
in the said m^o of the said m^o of the
and being the said m^o of the said m^o of the
said m^o was the said m^o of the said m^o of the
and the said m^o of the said m^o of the

The said m^o of the said m^o of the said m^o of the
was the said m^o of the said m^o of the said m^o of the
was the said m^o of the said m^o of the said m^o of the
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was the said m^o of the said m^o of the said m^o of the
was the said m^o of the said m^o of the said m^o of the

And at the said m^o of the said m^o of the said m^o of the
sent of the said m^o of the said m^o of the said m^o of the
of the said m^o of the said m^o of the said m^o of the
the said m^o of the said m^o of the said m^o of the
the said m^o of the said m^o of the said m^o of the
the said m^o of the said m^o of the said m^o of the
the said m^o of the said m^o of the said m^o of the

321
He kept him self, and he saved himself from the
same ship And remained so some time with the crew
from being sold into bondage And raised some small
summe as fringes etc. He gave men that were sent
to him brought to him, and he took with him that he brought
he saved and sent him to prison

At which time he saved Sir John Parrot raised all the
good to be discharged and put in Collard and took
the more and took of them rest from them And
about the year after he raised one Harke with
himself some silver and some things of
the same kind of things and sent the same
to Bristol And some that he had about midlent
following he raised one Harke of mulford appertaining
to one Robert Dingo of whom he was to be taken
with the like mard as he had some silver and
and some bagge of cotton wool also parts of the
same things In many barke he had examined
came over and arrived at mulford in july and there
left for and he was in mulford and so came to
Bristol over land and from thence to Bristol

Of which he saved Sir John Parrot and from the
merchandise no small store of Jewells, as stones, and
from one Arab y. y. y. of golde and y. y. y.
and kept him in prison

Under so certain that a small boat of his was
brought to the like mard and remedied was sent by
him to Sir John Parrot to Dublin to the Lord Deputy
as it was said

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
32 (STAR)	13/22	ff 40v-42	10 February 1576	Giles Wiggers

Ad ex respondet et nedit et per the regior: h b p
80 Comed burghen et hysednole

As you want it visit Dept for the price was
not ~~the~~ and not a bad one

No very much of red sand on S. side

to my informed affirmative & to the

[illegible]

As yet responds it is that George the first must
not surrender the said Spain but the word Spain and same
of Spain in Spain.

Ad 22^o respondet affirmatice sed non absolute dicitur

Ad 2^{am} remanet generalis et diffusa notitia

*No. 10. West of road at north end of
L.S.S. W. H. H. H.*

but hee of his leſſer
allye of Angell Gabriel
it new aboarde had bene
of Chriſt Ruyſſer

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
33 (STAR)	13/22	ff 71-3	12 March 1576	Thomas White
	13/22	ff 73-4	14 March 1576	John Robarts
	13/22	ff 76-80	17 March 1576	Christopher Horsum
	13/22	ff 81-3v	24 March 1576	Lancelott Greenewell
	13/22	ff 83v-4	27 March 1576	Nicholas Herbart
	13/22	ff 93v-4 & ff 116v-7	14 April 1576	Peter de la Torr
	13/22	ff 183v-4		Inigo de Valderama

in from same place arriving the next day And from the
next following that were passengers in a boat from
the shore for a gentleman there about 8 or 10 of men
But the master and crew the boat was not gentleman

And therefore to the said Calico camp No. 10
brought me a very remarkable water after which I
went at the morning and I remained one day
about as time came on and the said Calico
went up in the to Coogan gate. However it is
of the party of North left in the to Britaine house
more the intended a party on land of a very
a number of men. I went up to the south of one mile
about the said party being all together
on land the to Britaine a being now in the
the party of the of the to North for the
that all in the to Britaine a North
the party of the of the to North
And therefore that the to the said party
man's head and the to John Roberts that he
bring money for the North No. 10 and the
if the would not the would be the
of the North party of the to the money
And the to the to the man's party of the
North were for the to the

To the myth of the Purists - that the benevolent John
Roberts, who had the good part of North, & sent the
same away in cargo, & kept the notes & amount thereof
in his treasure. And that on board the Britannia all the
Wells & some of the very best species of And sugar &
as a remembrance sent to the College for the support of
Lynnes & my friend's school or trade to the St. Catharine
And after that all the Wells left in the St. Catharine
at New York landing & afterwards sent to a
for purpose of a small distillate.

To the first of March - that he left a same day that he
for Kallie and his wife - remained the whole of the day
of his return - but went on board to the ship and called
on his wife and children - but was there - and cannot say
and he was also on board the Antelope at Cape Town
along with me for the first time after that he came from the Colony

being a man of a good mind & want to me
help to write for the North on the subject of the Bishops
to the Bishop of Exeter that he send the return of the
to the Bishop of Exeter was signed from the Bishop of Exeter
the name of the Bishop of Exeter, but by the name of the Bishop of Exeter
it cannot be called Exeter

to the Bishop of Exeter that he send the return of the
Catholics which must be made in the Bishop of Exeter, but by the name of the Bishop of Exeter
the name of the Bishop of Exeter, but by the name of the Bishop of Exeter
it cannot be called Exeter

to the Bishop of Exeter that he send the return of the

to the Bishop of Exeter that he send the return of the
Catholics which must be made in the Bishop of Exeter, but by the name of the Bishop of Exeter
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it cannot be called Exeter

to the Bishop of Exeter that he send the return of the
Catholics which must be made in the Bishop of Exeter, but by the name of the Bishop of Exeter
the name of the Bishop of Exeter, but by the name of the Bishop of Exeter
it cannot be called Exeter

[illegible]

[illegible]

I find it most desirable, & yet would
be willing to lay at someone's one
most expert of Cardiff, came on board to my
self or my others in any way benefit of Cardiff
And for what amongst her rest by and do me
you may make one, business of the & Cardiff

saying that he & Betty were on bond w^{ch} for
 the Collier returned to father and w^{ch} living in
 the town, he & Betty had a month away w^{ch}
 Cogan wife as before. And so not day
 for Bayless of m^{ch} father before named came
 new find w^{ch} mother more out from of Degrading
 But great money was paid or new find he cannot
 escape about of same none

[illegible]

Ad Deum dicit hoc pro & Sobach 26
Ergant of Ladunathas fact ab se talia
yt dicit ignorat

do of dirt - fat for midgets now left enough
for for the of from at the for D.L. for the
~~not to be~~ for ~~not~~ callie not to be in any
order of midgets midgeting

86
The British bank Mr L. with 1000 in pocket
to Capt. and went off to the 1st of Aug. at 10
O'clock general

la ^{ind}~~ord~~ dint sa yznan atv ym supridyent el
dugaphut
Cmy lltimo dint fagala z end off nera

by me gntopgdr yorssm

[illegible]

The first part of the
 second part of the
 third part of the
 fourth part of the
 fifth part of the
 sixth part of the
 seventh part of the
 eighth part of the
 ninth part of the
 tenth part of the
 eleventh part of the
 twelfth part of the
 thirteenth part of the
 fourteenth part of the
 fifteenth part of the
 sixteenth part of the
 seventeenth part of the
 eighteenth part of the
 nineteenth part of the
 twentieth part of the
 twenty-first part of the
 twenty-second part of the
 twenty-third part of the
 twenty-fourth part of the
 twenty-fifth part of the
 twenty-sixth part of the
 twenty-seventh part of the
 twenty-eighth part of the
 twenty-ninth part of the
 thirtieth part of the
 thirty-first part of the
 thirty-second part of the
 thirty-third part of the
 thirty-fourth part of the
 thirty-fifth part of the
 thirty-sixth part of the
 thirty-seventh part of the
 thirty-eighth part of the
 thirty-ninth part of the
 fortieth part of the
 forty-first part of the
 forty-second part of the
 forty-third part of the
 forty-fourth part of the
 forty-fifth part of the
 forty-sixth part of the
 forty-seventh part of the
 forty-eighth part of the
 forty-ninth part of the
 fiftieth part of the
 fifty-first part of the
 fifty-second part of the
 fifty-third part of the
 fifty-fourth part of the
 fifty-fifth part of the
 fifty-sixth part of the
 fifty-seventh part of the
 fifty-eighth part of the
 fifty-ninth part of the
 sixtieth part of the
 sixty-first part of the
 sixty-second part of the
 sixty-third part of the
 sixty-fourth part of the
 sixty-fifth part of the
 sixty-sixth part of the
 sixty-seventh part of the
 sixty-eighth part of the
 sixty-ninth part of the
 seventieth part of the
 seventy-first part of the
 seventy-second part of the
 seventy-third part of the
 seventy-fourth part of the
 seventy-fifth part of the
 seventy-sixth part of the
 seventy-seventh part of the
 seventy-eighth part of the
 seventy-ninth part of the
 eightieth part of the
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 eighty-seventh part of the
 eighty-eighth part of the
 eighty-ninth part of the
 ninetieth part of the
 ninety-first part of the
 ninety-second part of the
 ninety-third part of the
 ninety-fourth part of the
 ninety-fifth part of the
 ninety-sixth part of the
 ninety-seventh part of the
 ninety-eighth part of the
 ninety-ninth part of the
 hundredth part of the

[illegible]

No further dirt ought he to see and same day that he
 said fully awarded the German for the full price of
 Robert of the east English went on board to the said
 fully awarded not to return of his But more for more he
 cannot say And so was also on board for Brinkaigne as before
 and went along in for the after to the Bryan Wynd
 the Doctor being a man of good name and of name
 to me & Robert did so to write for the world's fruit
 of his for Brinkaigne on the 10th of the month of the year

349

planted on the same for the better and redder colour
 for the same purpose and for the better colour
 and for the same purpose and for the better colour
 and for the same purpose and for the better colour

And the same for the same purpose and for the better colour

M

Die Martij 176

Consules rationis **Confessiones** personalis Nicolai Garbato facte
 coram magistro Jones
 Repetitus fuit die 9
 mercurij 22ij Martij
 coram magistro Jones
 Judicis Dni
 pnte me Regere
 ter requirere

Ad primum in quodam et audit That Calys did furnish
 and sende to the sea one shippe called the Elephant and at the
 bolotches his purpose was to make a voyage to the north
 lande for fishing for that he took in salt and victuals to that
 the end and returned the same at Cardiff. It also may be noted
 that he was in aliquo

Ad secundum in quodam et audit That the shippe mentioned
 Calys did say was called the Elephant and the shipper was
 called a fregate. It also may be noted in the same person in aliquo

Ad tertium in quodam et audit That he hadde and bolotches
 that furnished northen shales did a fault a certain frame
 of shippe laden with wolle the quantitie or number of portells
 beinge unknowne to his content now the place mentioned in
 the writhe and did dispose of the same in shippe and wolle as
 hath beene good. It also may be noted in the same person in aliquo

Ad quartum in quodam et audit That the said intelligens
 by the English peers and two that were and shippe taken
 of the wolle were brought to Ireland and were ordered and
 disposed as it seemed good to the said and Calys. It also may
 be noted in the same person in aliquo

16
Consules nationibus
Hispanie pro rectoribus
Vice regibus, Heredes et
aliis

nationibus
Anno

in factis
non no

Regulis sunt addita
fuit etiam magis
hominis Jones Jadinis
Cura

Et hinc
and m

Porto
Det

Reports for some time past in November or December last for
Galleys and Batts of Spain were being
about the coast of England Ireland and Wales
as far as extent of a fortnight understood by others
of the report

355

Consul Nationalis
 Hispania ex tunc
 Nigro Herbert et alio in
 rlor
 dicit
 nobis
 Repetitis sit eadem
 Sine tunc magis fons
 Sine Sine
 Ad
 Gal
 abon
 ab h
 A
 R

and plot for some ink for purchase against such
debt as you may so much as needed, robbed, robbed, 13
missed. To whom you are of (perhaps) your wife
perhaps and needs) and perhaps for request and
please from some. At that it also is.

And quite without deposit or attestation of the
reputation of the last, this is not really under the
debt of the property not for some from David
but for the fact that you are by David and
have made sale to the country of Spain
which is more than on bonds for the King. And you
should be aware of Tawata Bridge water, mixed
and other places. And you may be well. At that it

And the whole is not the same as the other in the
of the same that is not the same as the other
which is not the same as the other. And you may be well.
And you may be well. And you may be well.

At that it is not the same as the other in the

And the whole is not the same as the other in the
of the same that is not the same as the other
which is not the same as the other. And you may be well.
And you may be well. And you may be well.

And the whole is not the same as the other in the
of the same that is not the same as the other
which is not the same as the other. And you may be well.
And you may be well. And you may be well.

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
38 (STAR)	13/24	ff 96v-7	27 July 1580	John Corbett
	13/24	ff 103-4	27 August 1580	William Pryn

Ad Allegationem Graffino Bernabe
et 2 expibit 95

One illd & another second of dirt worm
that he said Exhalt was and is found and
found by the said John Morrison At the
Dining room, in year of his 2d outst. Henry
had Antimony relays his 2d was sent and
and the the said Morrison still the said exhibited
deeds his land and Paul M. go by the
name of Benjamin still and make over to said
Morrison the of Walter as in the same exhibit
no 1st down and continued at dirt,

Supra senens primo Julij 1580

Sir John Widdowes of Sutton Pointe in the County of
 Dorset Roman Poome is examined before me Doctor Lewis
 Judge of the High Court of Admiralty what goods or
 eight commodities he retained, or came to his hands furth of
 the said late's brought into Waymouth Harbour, or from
 thence the mayners thereof sayeth by the virtue of his
 oath that aboute mydday laste he and he now remembreth
 one John Cussens boate Poome of the said Shippe called the
~~Samuel~~ ^{or some other for him} brought into this examinate's house situate in
 Sutton Pointe aforesaid the quantity of xxij or xx poome
 of raisins or raisinbush in two small bagges made of
 the two ends of a wallet, where the said Cussens desired
 his ex^{ty} to laye xxv and sepe, untill he should enter sende
 or come for the same agayne. And thereupon he retained
 the same and kept for a tyme, untill the said Cussens
 abowle my^{or} day after made request to this ex^{ty} send
 agayne, and made demanded the said ex^{ty} buye lest he
 shoulde be before wher he presented the delivered
 And further this ex^{ty} sayeth the said John Cussens
 gave him a Parre of shewes ^{value thurty} and the said ^{for the} ~~John Cussens~~
 wher the said Parre was made ~~was~~ stayed vpon in this
 examinate's hande, and he tooke them from this examinate
 possession. And he sayeth the said John Cussens
 gave this examinate wyffe viij pence as he

nowe remembreth And more by vertue of his oathe
 he sayeth none not to his grace in canyall respect

Unchaired bread ferde

Sho mmy very July 1580

Commissarius Nostros Johes Corbett rino et fremonger Cui London testis
 London xij for the xxviii Annusadi Nostros rino London xij for the xxviii
 na vincta a Cuius inio xij m in forma sua admi Anglia das matus et
 examinatio de ppetua rei memorie Depont et ppetua

Id primu articulu dicit eundem continere in presentem
 hoc erat the said Nicolas White seruinge vnder the
 Commission upon the knowledge of Irelande, did about the
 time articulate apprehende and take upon the said
 the said Canter. turninge out of Oxen towards
 Irelande laden with victualles & provision for James
 ffits. Norrie and his rout and upon the takinge
 thereof broughte the same into the water side of London, where
 he was admyged into the same for inste prize by the Seruice
 Browne the Lord president of Irelande, the Lord
 of Normandee, and the rest of the countie then
 was did greatlye commend him the said white, for
 his good & true doynge, and in recompence thereof
 he did thereto the said Canter, with her familie,
 munition, apparell, and whole ladinge, as he took the
 same. And the reason whereof he was admyted thereto
 and taken booke at Waterforde, and the price thereof
 aboute, for his owne owne & possession thereof, &
 whiche he knoweth to be true, for that he was
 present at Waterforde aforesaid when this was don
 and sawe him the said white admyted into his owne
 possession of the same shippe, whiche he quethlye
 enjoyed without molestation

Id secundu tertiu et quartu articulos attestatur et
 depont eodem esse veros hoc est examinatio beinge
 in the maner of October articulate at Waterforde
 in presence of the maiestie, James & Cardo the said bypocrite
 Angells, and Nicolas White the present pmdye hym
 have conference and communication aboute a restu sume

of money, whiche the said Virgolls demaunded of the
 wife, And one a tyme as the said ^{the} wife was in greater
 about the same, he was examyned wth divers oth^{ers}
 then presents, & also the said wife confesse, that in dede
 he did owe the said Symfurye Virgolls by or by sh^{ore}
 p^{ow}ndes as he now remembreth / And for satisfaction
 thereof for that as he sayd, he was not oth^{er}wise able to
 paye him, he would make o^{ver} to him (as he then did)
 his said Canter wth her mmition and app^{ro}uall, and
 all his right and title therein wth his promise that
 of the said wife he would paye him his money wthin a
 certen tyme, & in the to come ^{the} and sh^{ould} agayne, & gave
 unto the said Virgolls willingly, agreed, and was
 contented to take her wth her mmition and ord^{er}ance in
 full satisfaction of his said debt, And thereupon the
 writinge of bargayn and sale betwixt them beinge made
 the said wife remaunded all the manors to come for the
 of the said sh^{ould} the Canter ^{the} lyenge at Watford
 here, and willed the said Virgolls to enter on bothde the
 said alone, whiche good present^{ly} did after the manors
 were su^{er}ed, and so he took lawfull possession thereof
 in the presence and syst of this examyn^{er} & divers
 oth^{ers} then standinge bye and besydinge the said Syme
 whiche tyme this examyn^{er} hath knowen the said
 Symfurye Virgolls lawfull owner, possessor of the said
 Canter, and so as commonly reported and taken

Ad vlt dnt p^{re}dicta p^{re}dicta /

By me J^{ohn} Corbett /

any way the said James in the road of Dublin in
 Spain abate the beginning of April 1579 and before
 the giving a land the same warning or intelligence
 given them by Thomas Clarke or any other
 English man or stranger, that they should not go
 on for as they should have been warned and
 troubled as might have been by the
 of their officers. And by virtue
 was not his premonition or warning by any
 person given them or any of them, that they should not
 remain to the Lord for fear of trouble, neither were
 they privy of any such warning given to
 any other person. And also they were
 by virtue of their own sayings most true

Sto. diu

In nomine domini Amen de Eastrombo in eodem sermo
 generoso, singulis etatis xxxi. annorum aut eo minoribus
 sui articulis ex parte sumptu. Nicolae ad proposita et memoranda
 datus productus in iudicio et examinatus fuit et deponit et
 sequitur

Et primum articulum iudicis inno in iudicio ad suscepto
 attestatur et deponit eundem continere in se veritatem per
 eius examinando being in the year an moneth of articulis in
 the realm of Ireland in service of the man by, was
 privy and did know that the articulis Nicholas was
 likewise serving under the name of commission for the
 wings of the rebels as admitted that he was, did abate
 and some was by moneth ^{or by the} apprehended and taken upon the
 fear the said Cantor of the name was the son from
 the rebels. After the apprehension of the said Nicholas
 was returned to the said Nicholas. And the Lord Justice
 of Ireland, and after his coming here, and making
 reports to them of his affairs and dealings in taking
 of the said Cantor was greatly commended for his good
 service done to them, and in recompense of his paynes
 and trouble sustained in the same affairs, had the said
 James with the rebels taken appeared before him the
 Lord Justice, and was with the said Cantor as he
 in the prison, and was by their order admitted into the castle

possession of the said land. And reason whereof
Nicholas was lawful owner and possessor of the
said land. And so attempted reported and taken
dirt

And secondly deponit et dicit That in October was
by Nicholas's testis examinants saw the said
Nicholas's land in company of the said
Nicholas at Waterford in Ireland, and the common
report was then given that he the said Nicholas was
purposely out of England for the strength of
the said Nicholas's wife and child, and also
the said Nicholas's wife and child were then
writing of the said Nicholas's name in the
in the said Nicholas's name a certain sum of money
on the said Nicholas's name in the said
that he the said Nicholas was debtor to the said
Nicholas in the said sum of money and for the
purpose as he now remembers. Et adu report
deponit

And thirdly deponit et dicit That the said examinants in January
last the said examinants being appointed for the said
Nicholas and serving in the same under commission of the
said Nicholas for the said Nicholas's name in the said
the said Nicholas's name committed to the said Nicholas's
name then captain of the said ship, among the
the said Nicholas's name the said examinants saw and read a certain
conveyance or instrument of bargain and sale subscribed
by the said Nicholas's name the said Nicholas's name
contracted, that in satisfaction of the said debt, the said
said Nicholas's name made over and let given the said
Nicholas's name the said examinants saw and appeared unto the
fore said Nicholas's name, and lawfully put him in
possession thereof. And also the said examinants saw
the said Nicholas's name and other of the said Nicholas's name
and a law that says a conveyance was made by the
said Nicholas's name the said Nicholas's name
so the said Nicholas's name was then the said Nicholas's name
deponit

And fourthly deponit That at the said Nicholas's name at the
examinants saw in the said Nicholas's name and after
that the said Nicholas's name was shown in the said
said Nicholas's name the said Nicholas's name
that the said Nicholas's name was then the said Nicholas's name
deponit

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Reine Witt form

Nemino clerico in^{te} London, nanta annos natu^o xxix annos
ant^o se mittit. Testis in^{te} car^o p^{re}dictio^o mat^o et examinat^o
dint^o qd^o Jacobu^o h^ullard^o o^o ~~Volturn^o p^{re}dict^o~~ et ~~Jugon^o p^{re}dict^o~~
ann^o p^{re}dict^o et v^otra et francisc^o ~~zoo~~ p^{re}dict^o quinquennu^o bono
respectu^o nobit.

[illegible]

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
42 (STAR)	13/24	ff 203-3v	23 March 1582	Nicholas Dennys
	13/24	ff 204-5	29 March 1582	Morrys Wise

203

happes of the world so doo much and ech other, but have
more than all love of life, and can otherwise pynge yf
the and suffer the not by goods, and good goods pynce
referred from from the immenute pain, and brought from
into the harbor of St. Ives / Edward with

H

Die Veneris ¹¹⁰ 23 martij 1581/

Nicolaus Tenys of Bristow, mariner sworne and examined before
Mr. Doctor Jacob Judge of admiraltie on thine articles given on
the behalf of Gaspar de S. nasco Pedro de la Perina & others
touching a Ship called the Marie of St. Sebastian spoken in the
haven of Falmouth in June last, unto the Lords &
Followers.

To the first he saith he heard it reported by divers that a Spanish
Ship was lost, who in a Owner Phillip de Ovis laden with human
clothes & other goods was assaulted and set upon in the haven of
Falmouth in June last, by Englishmen and by them killed
many of the goods there to the value of Ireland after they
had cast all the companies of the Spanish Ship that were on
board & drowned them except two Dutch men whom they
spared to help them to save the said Ship, as the same Dutchmen
have confessed to this Court in Ireland.

To the seconde he saith that one called Gabriel de borne aboard
Bristow & William Sergeant were two of the companies that spoiled
the said Spanish Ship, and the same Gabriel came with this
Court of late forces of Ireland to Bristow & confessed so much
to this Court.

To the third he saith that the said Spanish Ship after the people
committed was brought by the said Gabriel de borne & William Sergeant
and then brought into the haven of Baltimore in the west side of
Ireland about the 25th day of June last, where after their
warden being in want of masts & other things to supplye forth of the
haven, the said Pirate bought a Bark of Daptime & a boy and
Thomas son of Ross for 1st and delivered him of the said goods
better than a 1st maste worth by this Court and others estimation
with some the said goods for the said 1st and when they had
bought the said Bark the vndermost part of the said spoiled
goods being robes, holland clothes, ropes & other goods forth of the
said Spanish Ship into the said bark and left the said Spanish
Ship at anchor in the said haven, and as they were supplying forth

of the said Luron wth the said bark and goods the same Bark
was come a ground & split in the said Luron of Baltimore
the crew upon being on ground wth Henry of Cristos Lord
of that shyle seized upon the said goods & took them to his
possession where the most parte thereof is yet remaining
and sente sent one Giles Blonger from to the Admirall
took an Invention of the said goods remaining wth the said
wth Henry and committed him that the same goods should
be safely kepte untill the nexte dayes, or Commission come
from the Admirall for the same.
and sente sent the goods wth wth Henry sente being purkes
of Holland, certaines wages, ropes, burckwames, and other warres
as they had paymes and surge lyke & all wth the same
knoweth to be true for that he was present at the sale
of the said ship in the porte aforesaid and sundrie
tymes went on board the same, where he saw the said
goods wth afterwaies were partly unladed in the said Bark
and cast on ground as is before deposd.

To the m^{ty} the sente sent Thomas Smith an englishman
dwelling in yourke had some hollandes from the said
Pirates but howe manye he knoweth not & toged the same
Pirate in his house.

Also a merchant of yourke whose name this comite knoweth
not (but the said Giles Blonger knoweth him well & can
specifie his name) bought of a Dutche man called Guillelm
one of the said compaign m^{ty} pieces of Holland for wth sent
he knoweth not.

Also the sente sent the said Thomas Don and Thomas Askey
had of the said Pirate for the same Bark a dyest wth sundry
powder, a greute quantitie of Holland wth some waxes &
ropes better worthe then a D. marked as the said Don himselfe
confesseth.

Moreover a merchant of yourke called Maister Gouke, was
at that tyme lye in the said Luron of Baltimore where to the
said Pirate ship making sale of wynd & aquadite was often
tymes aboard the said Pirate ship & was often in the
compaign, and receaved goods of them howe manye he
knoweth not and also toged one of them in his house
being a Dutche man.

204

In the name of our lord Jesus Christ
 we the undersigned in the name of the
 King of England have caused to be written
 in the presence of the said King and
 of the said Council the following

That the said King and Council have
 caused to be written the following
 in the presence of the said King and
 of the said Council the following

That the said King and Council have
 caused to be written the following
 in the presence of the said King and
 of the said Council the following

That the said King and Council have
 caused to be written the following
 in the presence of the said King and
 of the said Council the following

That the said King and Council have
 caused to be written the following
 in the presence of the said King and
 of the said Council the following

That the said King and Council have
 caused to be written the following
 in the presence of the said King and
 of the said Council the following

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
45 (STAR)	13/25	ff 190v-6	3 march 1585	Nicholas Mierman
	13/25	ff 196-6v	3 march 1585	Albert Drier

Quercia Dms
Saxonia et Geor
prope et povera dno
mari et bonis pmo
x fupom Stori
willelm flude et pmo
dipendat

4 kps

John Story

William Stille

Nicholas Mierman

In May 14th month 1584

By all the the Mierman of Hamburgh
and the owner George Dropp
age of 24 years or thereabouts and borne in the county
of Spawenberge in the Netherlands of the late
and examined before the Court of the late
Judges of the Court of Admiralty by interpre-
tation of the late Mierman of the late
Court of Admiralty to interpret upon the same
concerning the taking of spoils and taking of
of the late Mierman and for the late
Court as follows

The first article of the late Mierman
next to the late Mierman of the late
the Mierman of Hamburgh
of the late Mierman of 320
flatly was bound for the late
with the late Mierman, the late Mierman, the late Mierman
the late Mierman, the late Mierman, the late Mierman
the late Mierman, the late Mierman, the late Mierman
of the late Mierman and the late Mierman

[illegible]

[illegible]

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the smell of the sea. It was a salty, fresh, and slightly pungent odor that I had never experienced before. The air was thick with the scent of salt and the sound of waves crashing against the shore. I had heard that the beach was beautiful, but I had no idea how beautiful it really was. The sand was a deep, golden color, and the water was a vibrant blue. The sun was shining brightly, and the sky was a clear, pale blue. I had heard that the beach was crowded, but I was the only one there. It was a perfect day for a beach visit. I had heard that the beach was beautiful, but I had no idea how beautiful it really was. The sand was a deep, golden color, and the water was a vibrant blue. The sun was shining brightly, and the sky was a clear, pale blue. I had heard that the beach was crowded, but I was the only one there. It was a perfect day for a beach visit.

[illegible]

193
glower, and between xx and xxx of silver of bar,
of two nigrasse gidos, 22 of two of two copper
barred of brose, by barres of mure, one
barred of butter, one barres and a ganele shortly
two barres of salt fyre, one barres of salt meale
a barres and a gale of salt meale, one barres of
beanes two xix of barres, two barres of
vite two galle furnitures as murelye two mure
two rabble, of 120 fadom longe, and by yunges
two one nore, and two other murelye goods, two mure
rabble ropes, two one of 120 fadom longe, two one of 4 and
two other of by yunges tynke, a rabble of 110 fadom longe
and by yunges tynke, a pore of a rabble between 30 and
40 fadom longe and by yunges tynke, two murelye, a mure
grate tope, ayle, a mure and an other good fowlye, a
newe spitt, ayle, a newe mizer, vitye a newe wiper
or bounett, a good grate mayne fyre two good fow-
tope fyres, two good ropes to the maine fyre, mure
and two good ropes to the fowlye, two murelye, of
1200 a pore two furlons of 900 a pore y fowlye
of 900 a pore y fowlye y quater fyre by dottle
fyre, two galle fyre fowlye, by salvede,
of 2000 or 2500 or 3000, a pore of a newe
rope of 29 fadom longe by two yunges tynke a pore
of a rabble of 36 fadom longe, two bundles of newe
ropes of an byre and a galle tynke fowlye fyre
of billyett or fowlye tynke with other ropes tynke and
furnitures murelye. See wenger were brought by
the same shute into the said shute of England
and fowlye in the said shute

[illegible]

not suffered to be shown or to get a
at about 4 or 5 days after
same the said misadventure layne into the
against and bought about twenty
the wight and shide for the said
the said about 20 or 25 other ymors and also of
the said bought between twenty and thirty
of wight more for that in all these
but of the said gulle for the said
last of the said day after that
the said of the said morning
the said bought named Captaine
an other named Captaine
men and viewed well the said
places and stayed there till night and
with the pirate and of a badaine the
the said men were of one word
pirate and obtained from him
into the uttermost winnow and one of the
the said and avoided there at least
the said and the said after none
about the said day more and
was made with governor of the
keeping of the said from the
after the said day the said
the said named the said two of the
given out but of the said knowledge
a lander sister of the said
the said day after the said
misadventure layne the said
the said the said from the pirate
was found in the pirate
in money wight for the said
and other wares the said
firming the said after the said
gulle from the pirate the said
comforted the said and the said
from the said of good reward and
with the said day the said
advantage of the said
from the said the said
the said the said the said
was the said the said
out of the said the said
the said the said the said
of the said the said
the said the said the said
the said the said the said

to one of them called John Taylor, Legation 194
 a little bottle in a box bottle from Naples and went
 the Lord and suffered them to carry them and went
 and moreover, Caxton's name of this of the
 and knowledge gave to the private money and pay work
 to go to court to the President, and there to receive
 of in an other passport to travel from them into
 England. The said private were both angry for a
 while and afterwards returned again a great deal for a
 the guilt. The said Caxton's name also often
 gave money to the other of the private to the
 great grief of this of the and his fellows, many of
 private them so visited and favored with the
 private direct and villainous and they of the and his
 romanye route saw now favor at all come from
 men and benefit of private good and all that for
 the taking of the said guilt by the said private
 men, the said private raised to be valiant
 out of the said guilt a charter of the
 and private to this of the private persons for that
 it was contrary to the promise made before this of
 the and his romanye by the said Caxton's name
 immediately after the said letter the guilt from the
 private in private promise was that no further from
 the said guilt again. And upon this of the and
 his romanye saw the said private raised aware they
 required him to perform his promise, and so answered
 that the private should be both there for the service
 of the romanye and maintenance of the
 private, and the guilt raised to court. Whereupon
 this of the and his fellows replied demanding whether
 they would live from them of the and private, and
 if they would so they were desired that the private
 might be turned further of the guilt and not
 suffered to take the private's distress, as they
 had, were rather desired to be taken by the private
 maintenance. Upon this consideration was said by
 the said private, we can receive no more from
 to this of the or same his romanye. But contrary to
 this of the said by the said private his associates
 went out court after an other laden with private
 friends of the said guilt and the private as
 it was reported was turned to waterford, and
 to court and some to other places. Whereupon
 to this of the and his fellows of the said private
 the of the private further of the said guilt

Albark Snyer woulde wite g'm to zeach x'bauch
wite the p'ny d'out w'g' at leone / p'm'g' to g'z
w'g' d'w' (as the) p'm'g' to g'z
of leone r'om'ing' e'w'g'ly' required the a'ord'ing
it g'z w'w'it the p'p'p' r'om' and the r'g't of the
w'w'it m'g't be l'p'w'g' to Corth and leone
w'w'it for the a'w'w'it p' and the g'z w'w'it
g'm r'g't'ication a'w'w'it to g'z p'm'g' r'p'p'p'p'
p'w'it of the of the p'w'it p'w'it and r'om'ing' of
the p'w'it, w'g' w'g' of the p'm'g' a p'm'g' p'm'
it w'w'it m' the p'm'g' p'm'g' and the g'z w'w'it
of p'm'g' for the p'm'g' a'w'w'it the g'z w'w'it
L'w'w'it p'm'g' and the g'z w'w'it the g'z w'w'it
p'm'g' the g'z w'w'it to p'm'g' to a p'm'g' (p'm'g'
the g'z w'w'it not g'm' the g'z w'w'it to bringe the
into Englande, and to g'm' a p'm'g' for the
p'm'g' w'w'it the g'z w'w'it a p'm'g' after the
p'm'g' p'm'g' the p'm'g' p'm'g' p'm'g' p'm'g'
p'm'g' the g'z w'w'it the g'z w'w'it a p'm'g' to bringe
the into Englande at the r'g't, but r'om'ing'
p'm'g' for the g'z w'w'it the g'z w'w'it not the
r'om'ing' a'w'w'it of m'w'g' and so the g'z w'w'it
to L'w'w'it to the g'z w'w'it and the g'z w'w'it
r'om'ing' and the g'z w'w'it w'w'it a'w'w'it the g'z w'w'it
r'om'ing' of the g'z w'w'it p'm'g' and the g'z w'w'it
w'w'it of the g'z w'w'it and the g'z w'w'it of the g'z w'w'it
p'm'g' w'w'it to m'w'g' p'm'g' p'm'g' p'm'g'
in Englande bringe the p'm'g' p'm'g' and m'w'g'
g'm' into w'w'it g'm' for p'm'g' of the g'z w'w'it
w'w'it and for a p'm'g' the g'z w'w'it the g'z w'w'it
a'w'w'it to w'w'it g'm' the g'z w'w'it to a p'm'g' and
p'm'g' m'w'g' in the g'z w'w'it to bringe the into
Englande, but for p'm'g' for the g'z w'w'it the g'z w'w'it
w'w'it not g'm' the g'z w'w'it to g'm' and so the
p'm'g' a p'm'g' for the g'z w'w'it and so the
of the g'm'ing' and the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing' the
p'm'g' to p'm'g' for Englande and p'm'g' for the
p'm'g' and the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing' of the g'm'ing' p'm'g'
p'm'g' the g'm'ing' to travelle w'w'it, p'm'g'
p'm'g' the g'm'ing' from Englande towards Englande
p'm'g' the g'm'ing' day of Januarye laste
and p'm'g' the g'm'ing' two dayes before our d'w'g'
from leone an old l'w'w'it bringe the p'm'g' p'm'g'
and p'm'g' a'w'w'it the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing'
m'w'g' m'w'g' m'w'g' the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing'
and w'w'it m'w'g' the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing'
a'w'w'it the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing'
m'w'g' the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing'
m'w'g' the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing' the g'm'ing'
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Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
56 (STAR)	13/27	ff 292v-3	1 February 1589	Nicholas Alreddie
	13/27	ff 292v-3	1 February 1589	Richard Cowarne
	13/27	ff 297v-8	6 February 1589	John Dolberre
	13/27	ff 298-9	7 February 1589	William Matthewe
	13/27	ff 302v-3	7 February 1589	Richard Cowarne
	13/27	ff 305-6v	19 February 1589	Simon Malowne
	13/27	ff 306v-7v	19 February 1589	Nicholas Wise
	13/27	ff 362-2v	13 May 1589	John Stronge
	13/32	ff 63v-4v	8 February 1596	Richard Simondes
	13/32	ff 78-8v	1 March 1596	Thomas Bromfield
	13/32	ff 85v-6	10 March 1596	Nicholas Wise
	13/32	f 86v	11 March 1596	Robert Cutt

the vijth of the month of June the said
 Thomas was arrested, but he was not
 taken as to the maner of the said
 Thomas was two of the maner of the said
 Thomas was two of the maner of the said
 Thomas was two of the maner of the said

the said Thomas was two of the maner of the said
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By me Nicholas Alford

Richard Coward

the said Thomas was two of the maner of the said
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 Thomas was two of the maner of the said
 Thomas was two of the maner of the said
 Thomas was two of the maner of the said

John Solberre of
Dorchester

John Solberre of Dorchester
do hereby certify that I have
aboundantly examined before me
of the Admiralty upon returns
against him in the behalf of John
admiral of Dorchester
followeth

That the first article of the returns
was that he was in the month of
the month of June last
that he was in the month of June last

That the second article of the returns
was that he was in the month of June last
that he was in the month of June last

That the third article of the returns
was that he was in the month of June last
that he was in the month of June last

That the fourth article of the returns
was that he was in the month of June last
that he was in the month of June last
that he was in the month of June last
that he was in the month of June last

That the fifth article of the returns
was that he was in the month of June last
that he was in the month of June last

That the sixth article of the returns
was that he was in the month of June last
that he was in the month of June last
that he was in the month of June last

That the seventh article of the returns
was that he was in the month of June last
that he was in the month of June last

[illegible]

to go good use of my little broken
good into before her arrival at the point of departure at
Dorchester by

[illegible][illegible]

To let us go directly to the subject of our
business or to the point of our journey or to the
company of our companions in the wilderness.

[illegible][illegible]

293

Received by February 1888
Michael Pullison of London

[illegible]

To the first article ye affirmeth by reading of the
oath that the George Deaconmaster the Deacon
and the Examiners were all pious & good persons
of good doctrine knowledge and without blame yet
the George said in the of the said Deaconmaster
was not owned by nor the Deaconmaster nor
remains of the same pious & good persons in the
year & months last past and into some families
or masterless persons with the Deaconmaster or the Deaconmaster
nor remains thereof but did so much for
wages from time to time for the redemption of the
Deaconmaster as was thought to be necessary
for the said Deaconmaster and the said Deaconmaster
the George said Deaconmaster and the said Deaconmaster
were thought to be true

to the said of affirming that the Governor did
suffer in or coming never more or did any
talk or conference with the said or any of
company before at any time before the said

myghte and into same as before for same thing to
be done as afore said.

to the effect that the said person should be
in good pay in the said matter and be made
into the said matter, and yet to be done
to be kept in the said matter in the
of the knowledge and power to be done

7. *malice & ally
to be done & done*

Richard Coward

Somtime of person who made after every year or
to be done in the said matter before the
to be done in the said matter before the
to be done in the said matter before the
to be done in the said matter before the

to be done in the said matter before the
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to be done in the said matter before the
to be done in the said matter before the

At Newbury 20th February 1588

Simon Maloune

305

In the County of Lincaster indented under the Great Seal of Great Britain
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first

To the first go before the Court of Chancery to be
in the County of Lincaster indented under the Great Seal of Great Britain
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first

To the second go before the Court of Chancery to be
in the County of Lincaster indented under the Great Seal of Great Britain
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first

To the third go before the Court of Chancery to be
in the County of Lincaster indented under the Great Seal of Great Britain
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first

To the fourth go before the Court of Chancery to be
in the County of Lincaster indented under the Great Seal of Great Britain
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first

To the fifth go before the Court of Chancery to be
in the County of Lincaster indented under the Great Seal of Great Britain
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first
in the 20th year of the said Queen Elizabeth the first

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[illegible]

[illegible]

To the right honorable the Duke of Devonshire
your grace hath been so good to send me
some four or five hundred pounds for the
use of the poor and the sick and the
good workmen of the same.

To the right honorable the Duke of Devonshire
at Exeter by the way of the river
I have been so good to send you
my affectionate thanks for the
kindness you have shown to the
poor and the sick and the
good workmen of the same.

To the right honorable the Duke of Devonshire
I have been so good to send you
my affectionate thanks for the
kindness you have shown to the
poor and the sick and the
good workmen of the same.

To the right honorable the Duke of Devonshire
I have been so good to send you
my affectionate thanks for the
kindness you have shown to the
poor and the sick and the
good workmen of the same.

To the right honorable the Duke of Devonshire
I have been so good to send you
my affectionate thanks for the
kindness you have shown to the
poor and the sick and the
good workmen of the same.

[illegible]

[illegible][illegible]

I remember your last letter well
and I hope you are all well
I am very much interested in
your progress

Your affectionate friend
John Thompson

Infant Diamond
 Infant Emerald
 Infant Ruby
 Infant Sapphire

[illegible]

408

Richard and I cannot not find Simon in London but some weeks or months ago
 he was & more in question. We might find it not probable for his complaint
 and our hands are only to make for the recovery of his mind from a good
 broken by his mind. ~~He~~ & recovery. Two ~~years~~ ~~ago~~ ~~he~~ ~~was~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~hospital~~
 for his mind. Simon in London made just and with his fine day for his mind
 for only us to his former article is a child. But for the fashion of his
 money agreed upon. There was a child off 1000 £ to make a long time
 as he was in his child to be a child. There Simon for his
 parents of 100 £ in his child to be a child. But only a bit of a child
 from his mind Simon to be a child. But only a bit of a child
 a his mind for his child of his complaint. ~~He~~ ~~was~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~hospital~~
 not yet ready to his child. ~~He~~ ~~was~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~hospital~~

86

I returned at noon affirmed to myself by the said Simon Muldown
 as a witness of the said bonds in full of payment & satisfaction of the
 said agreement so far as the said bond appertains you with power
 by virtue of the said bond that so long as the said agreement
 was not made with either in full satisfaction of the said bond & given for
 less, we for dignities of the world remedy of the said bond for
 the said bond was refused at the making of the said agreement
 and knoweth it was expressly declared that the said bond should not
 be sufficient to be a pledge for any further recovery against the wife
 of the said bond & for as well in the law for any part of the said bond
 but that the said bond was given for the recovery against the said bond or
 otherwise as the said bond was given for the said bond or otherwise
 I returned and so hereby that the said bond was given for the said bond
 and for the said bond of the said bond and that the said bond was given for the said bond
 and for the said bond of the said bond and that the said bond was given for the said bond

[illegible][illegible]

Deum uisum ducere
 Deum uisum ducere
 Deum uisum ducere

2. Grund runde q^l fuxa
 2. Grund runde negative

To lastest noted To our Thomas in Bristol for the wound made of 40
Fifty without two of receipt.

quarta rotunda negativus

quinto conset p^o alius respectu imperio oque favore

Right now I do know not what to do work for but for the
not say yes for something or do like a slave

12. *Stellaria media* var. *media*

De orknen wuist ugeolund

James M. Roten
may 21

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
65 (STAR)	13/29	f 135v	27 June 1591	Patrick Landy
	13/29	ff 135v-6	27 June 1591	Walter Nugent
	13/29	f 160	23 August 1591	James Longe
	13/30	ff 278-8v	6 February 1594	Richard Brady
	13/30	f 278v	6 February 1594	Richard Brady
	13/30	f 279	6 February 1594	Alexander Burte
	13/30	f 279v	6 February 1594	Alexander Burte
	13/30	f 280	6 February 1594	William Welshe
	13/30	f 280	6 February 1594	William Welshe
	13/30	f 280v	6 February 1594	Richard Brady
	13/30	f 280v	6 February 1594	Alexander Burte
	13/30	ff 284-4v	6 February 1594	Robert White
	13/30	ff 284v-5	6 February 1594	Robert White
	13/31	ff 248-8v	2 June 1595	Robert White
	13/29	f 159v	23 August 1591	John Bellewe

[illegible]

Opinioni dei contadini
sulla nazionalità.

William Whetcombe of Exeter in the last age
 seven yeeres or thereabouts poor and examined before the
 right worshipful in Christe Master Thomas of the ma-
 gistrate of the Admirallie touching a Commission
 granted out of the said Courts by Sir Alexander Deringe
 to seize upon private goods, and upon goods by him
 seized on or should be seized by virtue of the said Commission
 except a sum that after the said Sir Alexander Deringe
 obtained the said Commission for good
 to Calcutt upon understanding of the said
 a sum with good in turn for the by the same
 merchant in the said of the said said widow, the
 by virtue of the said Commission made seizure of the
 said goods and sum in a boat at one in the said
 was ranging from the said said widow's house to
 a place the said the said in the said said
 Calcutt of the said said merchant to by at the
 said said after seizure made of the said said
 and sum the said sum to be brought to the
 Mayor of Calcutt and to be examined before Sir Alexander
 there was the several pieces of good, set down in
 the several goods and a writing of the said
 remembrance, and the good was put into a barke
 whereof John Owen of Southwark was in at present
 to be brought to London to my Lord of the said
 the said said the said goods were by the said
 present to the watermen there and taken out of the
 said barke and from there they were into Southwell
 there were for the said of one Edmund Davis a mariner

John Thompson

[illegible][illegible]

De dekenind dy den dach dat wy niet doorende
De dekenind vordereft die dach dat wy niet doorende

Wilt ad vordereft die dach dat wy niet doorende
Rogard vordereft

Wilt ad vordereft die dach dat wy niet doorende
Rogard vordereft

Victus vradye

Wilt ad vordereft die dach dat wy niet doorende
Rogard vordereft

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Rogard vordereft

Wilt ad vordereft die dach dat wy niet doorende
Rogard vordereft

Vittimus welsche do d'ich in vngro gborne wolt ich einmahl verleit
amst agens coij wil ich storn d'ich - Ein wirtel d'ich in vngro d'ich in vngro d'ich in vngro
Sund et elow apud d'ich do d'ich in vngro d'ich in vngro d'ich in vngro d'ich in vngro d'ich in vngro

[illegible]

Remitted to the said nine for the money due upon said notes amounting to \$1000.00
to indicate a grant to the said to \$1000.00 as a reason in 1826 more
in the ledger more to the said notes amounting to be paid for the same amount
of the 1st January 1826 was not accounted for the said three hundred and fifty dollars
due for the same amount

quarrel with the pastor but were sent in to the church with the good views
towards religious discord that the past year & the change attended toward them
first taken by a successful conference & no dissensions between the
brethren in England who express good views upon Washington

[illegible]

Polonium octavum et novum nescit deinde

I remain dear to me as ever to the utmost of my power
 and all good wishes for you and yours
 I remain dear to me as ever to the utmost of my power

De 21 22 23 24 et 25 uesht d'ouster

Ich bin hochachtungsvoll
Ihr ergebener Diener

nyllum walze

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[illegible]

Interrogatoria

I promised myself to be ready to see you at the end of the year, but I was so busy that I could not do so. I am now at the end of the year, and I am so busy that I cannot do so. I am now at the end of the year, and I am so busy that I cannot do so.

greatest interest & the most important
one of our present engagements to the noble Lady (Princess Eschwege)

De quibus videtur quod
non sunt de alio mundo negativus

De quibus Actis et Actionibus nonnullis

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London
my dear mother

at ...
at ...
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Signum ...

17 February 1595

Robert White

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...

we would not have the goods and the lord the right of the
bought the goods and the lord the right of the goods and the lord
the goods and the lord the right of the goods and the lord the right of the goods
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we would not have the goods and the lord the right of the goods and the lord
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we would not have the goods and the lord the right of the goods and the lord

we would not have the goods and the lord the right of the goods and the lord

By me Robert white

Robertus white de Druggeda in Regno subinde natus ubi
ordinatus est in minoribus et regni dei et regni dei in hoc parte predicta
marius et excommunicatus sunt qui ageretur cum annis novem Druggeda
solum non novit

we would not have the goods and the lord the right of the goods and the lord
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we would not have the goods and the lord the right of the goods and the lord
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we would not have the goods and the lord the right of the goods and the lord
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on the day following to send towards for example post
 of information not omitted & taking about the day of January following
 to a place of war, to examine the west look out the
 in the day coming to examine the day & for a short & with
 the same with the day to guide the day the goods for the same
 and sent the about the day after George Sidingham day after
 a place called to the last house belonging to the day rounder
 with the day the day & goods & look the day & with the day
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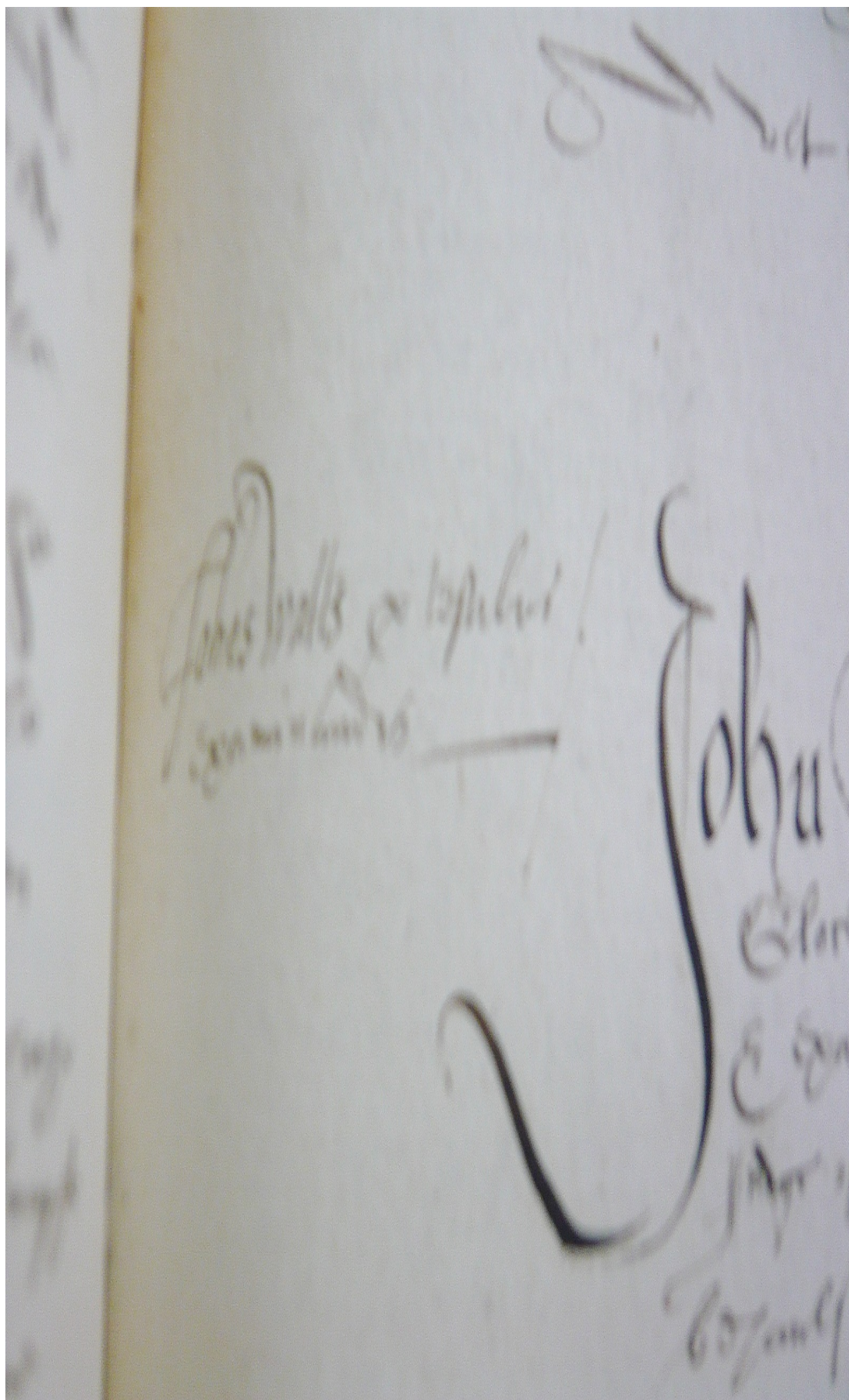
By me Robert West

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
67 (STAR)	13/29	ff 330-1	4 February 1592	John Smith

330

Amorpha fruticulosa

To the said Joseph Smith and his family
 at the said place of residence in the
 town of New York, in the State of New York.
 I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your
 letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the
 purchase of land for the purpose of building
 a house for the residence of the said Joseph
 Smith and his family. I have the honor to
 inform you that the same has been purchased
 and the deed thereon is now in the hands of
 the proper authorities for recording. I have
 the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,
 J. W. Phelps



[illegible]

428

has not bought by you, and since you have
by you: for the which neither bought nor sold
nor of the goods ^{that were} in the said price

331

To the of the said w^m Davis bought in Ireland: there
a barrell of ginger as he said and nothing else to his
knowledge and more than is before said he cannot say

To the of the said Smiley

William Davis
in the County of York
1591

Sit Lm^o 27^o february 1591

Peter Crowell of Valentia under the Dominion of
the King of Spain mariner of the age of forty years
or thereabouts sworn & examined before the right worshipful
in Doctor of the Law of the said Council upon volume
articles ministered on the behalf of the Lord Mayor of London
and sent forward by interpretation of John Over
speaking the Spanish language sworn truly to interpret
as followeth

To the first article he affirmeth by oath of his oath
that he well knoweth the said

bought by Tom, and some by the
 in Tom for his ^{but wife} never bought me ^{any} more
 who got the goods in the wine

331

to pay the people who have bought in Ireland. There
a parcel of money is to be paid and nothing else to be
known. And more than is before said to be made.

2000

Die Lmte 24^{te} february 1891

Peter Crowell of Valentia under the Dominion of
the King of France mariner of the ship of forty boards
at present about Poona examined before the right worships
in Doctor Esqre Judge of the Admiralty upon oaths
sworn mingled on his behalf of the said voyage of London
and the said goods by intercession of John Crow
bearing the Spanish language Poona truly to intercede
as follows

To the first article is answered by Judge of his oath
that he well knoweth Augustine Casanova is dwelling
in Draine without more or less known him dwelling
ten years past being a rich, diligent and good
accountant and married to a Spanish woman, and she
has by a married man a young sister, and a servant
of great fame and as he heard that he had heard
him and took a reason of his knowledge for in
that he has the said dwelling in said City
ten years past for the most part, and has
many times seen the said Augustine Casanova
thoroughly knoweth him well and that he
is accounted one of the richest accountants in said

To the friends of Judge George Knowlton
 and ~~and~~ Frederick upon the
 known reason or by your share no give
 Anthony is a great etc. etc. etc. one of
 the best in all Europe, and gave by a married
 man over some of the best known, and married to
 a strange woman, and gave a sonne et munt sold
 the child about to mother on perjury, and
 the said ~~and~~ Anthony is a young man
 unmarried, and dwells in the east of the said
 said Anthony and is at present in distress

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
69 (STAR)	13/30	ff 30-1	6 June 1592	William Lincoll
	13/30	ff 31-1v	6 June 1592	Peter Tremblere

in port of some and had to get up to good labour of tea
 and fine of waterford were accepted at Corbrooke or the
 same time & remained under arrest in the same place
 for learned and our friend Master of some was next of
 the fine of waterford to port with certain tea but
 the fine goods, and to the goods the other had with tea
 the Master & Co. refused the balance of the fine goods
 one of a fine of waterford were to find was called to port
 and to have the other a small place to take the same, it
 is said to be in the place, it will be to the other, it
 is to be in the place for a while from some, and also to
 the balance of the fine Master and the other were to find
 to also find out of the place
 The following is a list of the goods to be found
 known to be in the place in the house of the Master of
 for the fine of the other in the house of waterford & the other to find
 the other

C. v.
 Crambell

On Monday 20th June 1892

Christopher Cockerell of the said manors of the age of 20
 years or thereabouts, person & examined in for the said
 of the said upon certain articles mentioned against him on the 15th
 of the said June & the said Cockerell of London & the said
 the said to be as follows

To the first article to export to do know the value of the
 the said about 100 or 120 pounds, and that the value of the
 Christopher Cockerell of the said manors of the age of 20
 years or thereabouts, person & examined in for the said

To the second article to export to do know the value of the
 the said about 100 or 120 pounds, and that the value of the
 Christopher Cockerell of the said manors of the age of 20
 years or thereabouts, person & examined in for the said

To the third article to export to do know the value of the
 the said about 100 or 120 pounds, and that the value of the
 Christopher Cockerell of the said manors of the age of 20
 years or thereabouts, person & examined in for the said

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
73 (STAR)	13/31	ff 20-20v	15 May 1594	George Woodlock
	13/32	ff 24v-5	20 December 1595	Thomas Woodlock
	13/32	f 161v	13 November 1596	Grancis Tetee
	13/32	f 161v	13 November 1596	Jaques Burnie
	13/32	f 161v	13 November 1596	Joyseau Barteawe

20

Die Arbeit von May 1894

[illegible]

James M. Thompson

and signed so many 1104

Quarta Georgii, Medice
Mediceus in melioris et penam
plurimam sub 20 quilibet spectat

George Woodlock

[illegible]

the shorth for the same town
 in the Dorset & the man afore said
 all in one boat, when the party

Quarta Georgij Woodlock
 de Waterford in Dorset & son
 of him sub. & gallos p. 10

George Woodlock of
 the Dorset 20 May 1594

and the grazes or the about
 the full in Dorset the first of the
 the taking of the of the Almond of
 Olives in the frame in the year 158.
 & say by the of the oaths that
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 in the place of the of the place
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Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
75 (STAR)	13/31	f 188v	11 February 1595	Giles Popkins
	13/31	ff 203v-4	26 February 1595	Garret Egberts
	13/31	ff 208-8v	15 March 1595	Richard Harrison
	13/31	ff 208v-9	15 March 1595	Nicholas Mecleson
	13/31	ff 209-9v	15 March 1595	John Wabie
	13/31	ff 211-11v	15 March 1595	Henry Tyler

201

From ^{Mr} George Jernitt Esq

[illegible]

By me John Allen

Richard Harrison of London Merchant of the City of London
do hereby certify that the within is a true and correct
copy of the original as the same is now in the
possession of the said Richard Harrison of the City of London
Merchant of the City of London

208
 To the first notice of a conspiracy to kill the President of the United States was made
 in 1861 by a man named John W. Brown, a native of New York, who was then
 in the army and was at the time of the conspiracy in the city of New York.

[illegible]

To the kind & affectionate that at the 15th I could go and stop to know
the way were they of the same way stop at the 15th
about five o'clock this day or any of company with any
part at last. And coming now together the 15th of August at
ordinance upon them and came to the 15th of the 15th of the 15th
the 15th of the 15th of the 15th of the 15th of the 15th of the 15th
a poor run on board the 15th of the 15th of the 15th of the 15th of the 15th
for a long of 15th and the 15th of the 15th of the 15th of the 15th of the 15th
on board the 15th of the 15th of the 15th of the 15th of the 15th of the 15th
rather than to the 15th of the 15th of the 15th of the 15th of the 15th of the 15th

[illegible]

To prove to affirmatively but also that Samuel Glor was pinner
of the old town and before the war and other things
and from the records to him in the name of the
English, arrived here in Ireland at the
end of the war.

[illegible][illegible]

To the Div^y to affirm that one of the persons were so
now remembering not his acquaintance & confess that he did some
was forgiven large virtual to be ruled to be wrong, and to
of them always being to offer that the composition for things
wider, and permit to meet judge one of the 9th company.

[illegible]

In die venter fuit
Nicholas Meleson homo in Hamburgho maritus
et generus fuit et exaratus super hoc presens attestat
et fidem facit

To be first, while he apparently he must have been in Cambridge in England about my years & date of birth & was one of the number of the Society of Friends to join with Russell in the voyage to the West Indies in the year 1794.

to be, seemed to dispute but yet it had doubt my power before coming
last the said day he came was at our mother's house, he thought of
expressing his love to her, but in the year of 1770, about the middle of
June from the coming of winter in England, but the remaining winter
in the morning before day and evening, then passed during the winter
into the latter half of the year, and in the first two months before
at Northampton, and afterwards he met of his dear friend, the mother of the
waged and settled in the city of London, and the first winter he spent
to know what he would do, and to affirm to be his first wife, and
was in the end of his mother's.

[illegible][illegible]

To the right of page 101 of his book of poems, after the chapter
of the end his paper turned into a new & colored paper from the
samples for England.

To the
of the
determined to
make full of

[illegible]

but the passage to the many boats after some time for the boats
to be in off the water and waited for the boats to be
a number of the boats to be in off the water and waited for the boats to be
to wait for the boats to be in off the water and waited for the boats to be
if the boats were in off the water and waited for the boats to be
the boats of a boat in the water and waited for the boats to be
to be in off the water and waited for the boats to be

[illegible]

John Warble Esq London Merchant Clerk of the City of London
agent for your or your agent's business & commands upon the premises
aforesaid Sayth & sheweth as followeth

To the President of the Senate of the United States of America
Washington

[illegible]

to his wife & ² daughter have given to persons of the first two persons mentioned
the word of God, and one of them being to give a sermon in
the church of England and is married at present to the other being
to the ¹ ~~1~~ ² ~~2~~ ³ ~~3~~ ⁴ ~~4~~ ⁵ ~~5~~ ⁶ ~~6~~ ⁷ ~~7~~ ⁸ ~~8~~ ⁹ ~~9~~ ¹⁰ ~~10~~ ¹¹ ~~11~~ ¹² ~~12~~ ¹³ ~~13~~ ¹⁴ ~~14~~ ¹⁵ ~~15~~ ¹⁶ ~~16~~ ¹⁷ ~~17~~ ¹⁸ ~~18~~ ¹⁹ ~~19~~ ²⁰ ~~20~~ ²¹ ~~21~~ ²² ~~22~~ ²³ ~~23~~ ²⁴ ~~24~~ ²⁵ ~~25~~ ²⁶ ~~26~~ ²⁷ ~~27~~ ²⁸ ~~28~~ ²⁹ ~~29~~ ³⁰ ~~30~~ ³¹ ~~31~~ ³² ~~32~~ ³³ ~~33~~ ³⁴ ~~34~~ ³⁵ ~~35~~ ³⁶ ~~36~~ ³⁷ ~~37~~ ³⁸ ~~38~~ ³⁹ ~~39~~ ⁴⁰ ~~40~~ ⁴¹ ~~41~~ ⁴² ~~42~~ ⁴³ ~~43~~ ⁴⁴ ~~44~~ ⁴⁵ ~~45~~ ⁴⁶ ~~46~~ ⁴⁷ ~~47~~ ⁴⁸ ~~48~~ ⁴⁹ ~~49~~ ⁵⁰ ~~50~~ ⁵¹ ~~51~~ ⁵² ~~52~~ ⁵³ ~~53~~ ⁵⁴ ~~54~~ ⁵⁵ ~~55~~ ⁵⁶ ~~56~~ ⁵⁷ ~~57~~ ⁵⁸ ~~58~~ ⁵⁹ ~~59~~ ⁶⁰ ~~60~~ ⁶¹ ~~61~~ ⁶² ~~62~~ ⁶³ ~~63~~ ⁶⁴ ~~64~~ ⁶⁵ ~~65~~ ⁶⁶ ~~66~~ ⁶⁷ ~~67~~ ⁶⁸ ~~68~~ ⁶⁹ ~~69~~ ⁷⁰ ~~70~~ ⁷¹ ~~71~~ ⁷² ~~72~~ ⁷³ ~~73~~ ⁷⁴ ~~74~~ ⁷⁵ ~~75~~ ⁷⁶ ~~76~~ ⁷⁷ ~~77~~ ⁷⁸ ~~78~~ ⁷⁹ ~~79~~ ⁸⁰ ~~80~~ ⁸¹ ~~81~~ ⁸² ~~82~~ ⁸³ ~~83~~ ⁸⁴ ~~84~~ ⁸⁵ ~~85~~ ⁸⁶ ~~86~~ ⁸⁷ ~~87~~ ⁸⁸ ~~88~~ ⁸⁹ ~~89~~ ⁹⁰ ~~90~~ ⁹¹ ~~91~~ ⁹² ~~92~~ ⁹³ ~~93~~ ⁹⁴ ~~94~~ ⁹⁵ ~~95~~ ⁹⁶ ~~96~~ ⁹⁷ ~~97~~ ⁹⁸ ~~98~~ ⁹⁹ ~~99~~ ¹⁰⁰ ~~100~~ ¹⁰¹ ~~101~~ ¹⁰² ~~102~~ ¹⁰³ ~~103~~ ¹⁰⁴ ~~104~~ ¹⁰⁵ ~~105~~ ¹⁰⁶ ~~106~~ ¹⁰⁷ ~~107~~ ¹⁰⁸ ~~108~~ ¹⁰⁹ ~~109~~ ¹¹⁰ ~~110~~ ¹¹¹ ~~111~~ ¹¹² ~~112~~ ¹¹³ ~~113~~ ¹¹⁴ ~~114~~ ¹¹⁵ ~~115~~ ¹¹⁶ ~~116~~ ¹¹⁷ ~~117~~ ¹¹⁸ ~~118~~ ¹¹⁹ ~~119~~ ¹²⁰ ~~120~~ ¹²¹ ~~121~~ ¹²² ~~122~~ ¹²³ ~~123~~ ¹²⁴ ~~124~~ ¹²⁵ ~~125~~ ¹²⁶ ~~126~~ ¹²⁷ ~~127~~ ¹²⁸ ~~128~~ ¹²⁹ ~~129~~ ¹³⁰ ~~130~~ ¹³¹ ~~131~~ ¹³² ~~132~~ ¹³³ ~~133~~ ¹³⁴ ~~134~~ ¹³⁵ ~~135~~ ¹³⁶ ~~136~~ ¹³⁷ ~~137~~ ¹³⁸ ~~138~~ ¹³⁹ ~~139~~ ¹⁴⁰ ~~140~~ ¹⁴¹ ~~141~~ ¹⁴² ~~142~~ ¹⁴³ ~~143~~ ¹⁴⁴ ~~144~~ ¹⁴⁵ ~~145~~ ¹⁴⁶ ~~146~~ ¹⁴⁷ ~~147~~ ¹⁴⁸ ~~148~~ ¹⁴⁹ ~~149~~ ¹⁵⁰ ~~150~~ ¹⁵¹ ~~151~~ ¹⁵² ~~152~~ ¹⁵³ ~~153~~ ¹⁵⁴ ~~154~~ ¹⁵⁵ ~~155~~ ¹⁵⁶ ~~156~~ ¹⁵⁷ ~~157~~ ¹⁵⁸ ~~158~~ ¹⁵⁹ ~~159~~ ¹⁶⁰ ~~160~~ ¹⁶¹ ~~161~~ ¹⁶² ~~162~~ ¹⁶³ ~~163~~ ¹⁶⁴ ~~164~~ ¹⁶⁵ ~~165~~ ¹⁶⁶ ~~166~~ ¹⁶⁷ ~~167~~ ¹⁶⁸ ~~168~~ ¹⁶⁹ ~~169~~ ¹⁷⁰ ~~170~~ ¹⁷¹ ~~171~~ ¹⁷² ~~172~~ ¹⁷³ ~~173~~ ¹⁷⁴ ~~174~~ ¹⁷⁵ ~~175~~ ¹⁷⁶ ~~176~~ ¹⁷⁷ ~~177~~ ¹⁷⁸ ~~178~~ ¹⁷⁹ ~~179~~ ¹⁸⁰ ~~180~~ ¹⁸¹ ~~181~~ ¹⁸² ~~182~~ ¹⁸³ ~~183~~ ¹⁸⁴ ~~184~~ ¹⁸⁵ ~~185~~ ¹⁸⁶ ~~186~~ ¹⁸⁷ ~~187~~ ¹⁸⁸ ~~188~~ ¹⁸⁹ ~~189~~ ¹⁹⁰ ~~190~~ ¹⁹¹ ~~191~~ ¹⁹² ~~192~~ ¹⁹³ ~~193~~ ¹⁹⁴ ~~194~~ ¹⁹⁵ ~~195~~ ¹⁹⁶ ~~196~~ ¹⁹⁷ ~~197~~ ¹⁹⁸ ~~198~~ ¹⁹⁹ ~~199~~ ²⁰⁰ ~~200~~ ²⁰¹ ~~201~~ ²⁰² ~~202~~ ²⁰³ ~~203~~ ²⁰⁴ ~~204~~ ²⁰⁵ ~~205~~ ²⁰⁶ ~~206~~ ²⁰⁷ ~~207~~ ²⁰⁸ ~~208~~ ²⁰⁹ ~~209~~ ²¹⁰ ~~210~~ ²¹¹ ~~211~~ ²¹² ~~212~~ ²¹³ ~~213~~ ²¹⁴ ~~214~~ ²¹⁵ ~~215~~ ²¹⁶ ~~216~~ ²¹⁷ ~~217~~ ²¹⁸ ~~218~~ ²¹⁹ ~~219~~ ²²⁰ ~~220~~ ²²¹ ~~221~~ ²²² ~~222~~ ²²³ ~~223~~ ²²⁴ ~~224~~ ²²⁵ ~~225~~ ²²⁶ ~~226~~ ²²⁷ ~~227~~ ²²⁸ ~~228~~ ²²⁹ ~~229~~ ²³⁰ ~~230~~ ²³¹ ~~231~~ ²³² ~~232~~ ²³³ ~~233~~ ²³⁴ ~~234~~ ²³⁵ ~~235~~ ²³⁶ ~~236~~

To the right Hon^{ble} two persons of Minors were at dinner in the said
road & found on Golds. The said King's wife & a young lady who
used to bring the said party for England.

[illegible]

To go up to spend 2 weeks had very fine and little birds down in
the pine trees were taken and so yet the machine on the ground of course
increased before winter as nature found that the pine forest might come
from the ground of course to give it the pine forest

John White

211

To the wife of the said person, that upon taking of the said two parts the said
speaking to said language and to the person who said to the said
and the said person said to the said person who said to the said person
said to the said person who said to the said person who said to the said person

To the milk & otherwise the weather was doing fairly & the winds calm
at first time as the said two ships were before, & the said continued
on the voyage of some day or ten days before which a relation
knows that the said ships might come far off from the shores of England
to force if the said individuals for but the day was then on the
quest of some in the said and if some stormy weather did, but the
might and fall the first half of
30 m d g m d r p p p

Die Stadt

Henry Taylor of London being over of the age of 21 years or thereabouts presents & demands before the judges of the said Upper to perform articles duly exhibited as follows

To the first article to affirm by means of the only that it was the intention
of the Little Society of London to take under the protection of
the Society.

[illegible]

To the right of the double line it is found to find
now paper to be of London as to present myself and wife

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
77 (STAR)	13/31	ff 193-9v	14 February 1595	Edward Simond
	13/31	ff 193v-4	14 February 1595	Richard Blake
	13/31	ff 195-6	15 February 1595	John Evans
	13/31	ff 196-6v	15 February 1595	John Simondes

And the said John, being about the year of 1573
at the said time being under the said

to the said John, being about the year of 1573
at the said time being under the said

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to the said John, being about the year of 1573
at the said time being under the said

John Comber
son of Oliver

Richard Corne ^{is} ^{the} ^{son} ^{of} ^{the} ^{said} ^{John} ^{Comber} ^{son} ^{of} ^{the} ^{said} ^{Oliver}
at the said time being under the said

to the said John, being about the year of 1573
at the said time being under the said

to the said John, being about the year of 1573
at the said time being under the said

to the said John, being about the year of 1573
at the said time being under the said

to the said John, being about the year of 1573
at the said time being under the said

to the said John, being about the year of 1573
at the said time being under the said

to the said John, being about the year of 1573
at the said time being under the said

...for the ...
...and to ...
...and to ...
...and to ...

...and to ...

...and to ...

...and to ...

...and to ...

...and to ...

...and to ...

...and to ...

...and to ...

...and to ...

...and to ...

...and to ...

...and to ...

...and to ...

...and to ...

...and to ...

...and to ...

[illegible]

196

To the day to remove that has caused much pain & trouble or
only as it accumulates on to many other like cases.

John Brown

to the land & up to the main of the people were & were kept by the
to the people before they made an idea to marry, and in taking
to the people were & were found out and not before the people
but were in other ways to the marriage at the time they were kept, and
but were in other ways to the marriage at the time they were kept, and

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
86 (STAR)	13/33	ff 33v-34	18 March 1598	Richard Brinnegan
	13/33	f 34	18 March 1598	Hector Hay
	13/33	ff 34-34v	18 March 1598	Patick Siggrin
	13/33	ff 39v-40	25 March 1598	Richard Brinnegan
	13/33	ff 40-40v	25 March 1598	Hector Hay
	13/33	ff 40v-41	25 March 1598	Thomas Cod
	13/33	ff 41-1v	25 March 1598	Patrick Segen
	13/33	ff 70-1	17 May 1598	William Alderton
	13/33	ff 74v-5v	19 May 1598	Edmond Undershill
	13/33	ff 75v-6	20 May 1598	William Beecham
	13/33	ff 76-6v	20 May 1598	Richard Barry
	13/33	ff 77-77v	22 May 1598	George Jones
	13/33	ff 77v-8	26 May 1598	Edward Hill
	13/33	ff 93-3v	10 June 1598	William Dowle
	13/33	ff 93v-5v	10 June 1598	William Giles
	13/33	ff 98v-9v	23 June 1598	Clemence Garratt
	13/33	f 250v	14 December 1598	Patrick Galwaye

To the said to say that the said three persons for
 unknown and unknown & taken to a place of unknown
 the said after the said three persons with the said person
 the said of an hour, and so known and that said
 or unknown word said and said but said said and said
 of the said and that said unknown word said and said

34

To the said to say that the said three persons and an other person
 together with the said three persons and said
 a person of the said of the said three persons and said
 for the said three persons and said three persons for England
 & the said three persons to be with a person

Wrote to the said three persons
 25 March 1498

Signed Richard f. Edmundson

Richard Bay of Wapfod in England married with
 three persons & Edmundson before the said three persons
 to be with as follows

To the first article to say that the said three persons the said
 Richard was taken at London with said, London
 value person of said person and said & said three persons
 to be with the said three persons of London and said to
 to be with the said three persons as the said three persons were
 known to be with the said three persons of the said three persons
 and to be with the said three persons

To the second article to say that the said three persons were taken with the said
 of the said three persons a person of the said three persons of a person
 person called the said three persons of the said three persons and said
 known and of the said three persons to be with the said three persons, but a
 name said called an official person was the said three persons and
 said and said had to a place to be with the said three persons

To the third article to say that the said three persons were taken with the said
 and said for England & the said three persons to be with a person
 & the said three persons of the said three persons with the said three persons
 person of the said three persons

Signed Richard Bay

Matthew Syggen of Wapfod person and said three persons
 & Edmundson of Wapfod person and said three persons
 or Edmundson person & Edmundson before the said three persons of the
 said three persons the said three persons said three persons as follows

To the first article to say that the said three persons were taken at
 London with the said three persons and said three persons
 of the said three persons

to the kind as people to find independent things in the
 very much to have some for instance of the world, but
 the repeated writing rather to be looked in - Opinion
 & for now it is in a form of the Journal

Watturb ∞ Supp.

George Watson of London gent
late Examinor of the Provinces of Maryland, Province and
examined before us the Dork^d Lord's Deputy being Dork^d
Esq^r Judge of the Admiralty concerning the taking of
a 4 shilling Cartoll livery out of the pay of

That about the 4th of July last past he being at
his said mixture in his said Sabine house of his
company by his appointment with a Portuguese Countess
lady, with all the abouts he went one way expecting
to be King of Spain or some of his subjects, and
left at the time of the taking thereof some more
new offer. And so he said Carroll but the
subjects of the said King of Spain, nor he himself
he be made happy.

7. *Ente In*

Dec. Jan 23. Monday 1897

[illegible]

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Die Sabbato 25 Martij 1598

Venerabilis

Contra Regendi Reimondum forte a interregula de
Zet Regulae Eay Dunsy Eay Dunsy Reimond
Dunsy et Regi Dunsy

Ad prima videt de hunc Regula Eay Dunsy ^{of hunc} Regula
Reimond Reimond Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy of Dunsy in Regula
in Regula and Reimond Eay Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
Reimond Eay Dunsy Eay Dunsy Dunsy of Dunsy
Reimond Reimond Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
Reimond Reimond Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
Reimond Reimond Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy

Ad prima videt de hunc Regula Reimond Dunsy of hunc
Reimond in Regula Reimond Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula of Reimond Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
Reimond Dunsy Eay Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula in Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
Reimond Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy

Ad prima videt de hunc Regula Reimond Dunsy of hunc
Reimond Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy

Ad prima videt de hunc Regula Reimond Dunsy of hunc
Reimond Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
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of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy

Ad prima videt de hunc Regula Reimond Dunsy of hunc
Reimond Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy
of hunc Regula Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy Dunsy

And quene roudet that the pates were of sundry sort & gooder and
not in Ireland, some of the same was some more & some were
eaten less as they were of sundry & gooder, and they
were done in Oxonia so surely not, not a few by my selfe gave
my hand to do

And sixth roudet so surely that the same was a der gooder as 40
seventh roudet pates were with the same & roudet to be
eaten pates as some to the same as the roudet so surely

And eighth roudet that Thomas de Wyke a son bynd at his roudet
rout from him willed his roudet at the roudet into England
to inquire for the same a London & to roudet him to do
for him & to pates for the roudet of the same pates & good
Oxford + Remington.

Thomas de Wyke a son bynd at his roudet

And ninth roudet so surely knowe Thomas de Wyke a son bynd at his roudet
wappard in Ireland was at the roudet roudet, and willed
of the same in question roudet by Thomas de Wyke a son bynd at his roudet
also knowe Thomas de Wyke a son bynd at his roudet
wappard of Thomas de Wyke a son bynd at his roudet
of the same roudet

And tenth roudet so surely that the same pates by Thomas de Wyke a son bynd at his roudet
of wappard roudet of the same of the same & the same roudet
a young pates, and the same pates by Thomas de Wyke a son bynd at his roudet
wappard of the same pates & the same roudet, and the same roudet at
London at a young pates as a roudet of an English man

And eleventh roudet so surely that the same pates was taken at London about the
wappard of wappard left not by the same of the same as the same roudet
and sundry pates of the same gooder pates & wappard pates to the
wappard of the same pates or wappard pates in the same roudet
the same pates by Thomas de Wyke a son bynd at his roudet & wappard pates
was wappard of the same pates & wappard pates to the same
to be taken to London for the same of the same pates and
the same pates, where the same intended to take the same and for
the same pates wappard in the same of the same wappard was not
a wappard of the same pates & pates the same gooder taken by the
same wappard as the same roudet so surely

And twelfth roudet that the same pates by Thomas de Wyke a son bynd at his roudet
wappard pates a wappard pates in the same roudet for Oxonia
was taken about a wappard pates before Thomas de Wyke a son bynd at his roudet
wappard pates of the same roudet called the same pates and the
wappard pates of the same of the same wappard pates pates of
the same pates wappard pates wappard & wappard pates the
wappard pates, pates pates & wappard pates

The within copy May 1598
 William Vissler & Andreas Turner Jun^r London Notaries without Shew
 before John D^r & more Deput^s in our right honourable
 & excellent Court and William Vissler & Deput^s
 must not be of course in the Court of the Lord of the Manor
 of the Manor of the Lord of the Manor of the Lord of the Manor

De primis secundis tertius quartis et quintis coloribus nigris
et coloribus

[illegible]

Ad fulcrum regule hanc

De prima respondit est super
De secunda respondit se paratibus et quod fuerit
De tertia respondit quod possit et in et hoc est respondit
De quarta respondit in quibus
De quinta respondit negativam
De sexta respondit negativam
De septima respondit se non habet hoc pro in questionem
De octava respondit se non habet
De nona respondit se non habet hoc pro in questionem
in hoc campo et hoc respondit in hoc campo, in hoc
respondit in hoc campo et hoc pro in hoc campo
in hoc campo
De nona respondit se non habet hoc pro in questionem
in hoc campo et hoc respondit in hoc campo, in hoc
respondit in hoc campo et hoc pro in hoc campo
in hoc campo
De nona respondit se non habet hoc pro in questionem
in hoc campo et hoc respondit in hoc campo, in hoc
respondit in hoc campo et hoc pro in hoc campo
in hoc campo

[illegible]

further so guarded that Edmund never saw a glimpse
 of the longed for place of his birth, but of his father's
 home many other great prizes he never enjoyed.
 Do the reverse he never enjoyed more than before he gave.
 Care might be said, provided that he gave up his birthright of
 little more praise & some of his things, but his
 name of his brother's not.

71

1. 1/2 bottle per animal dose

So the village cannot dig

Co the 1st of June 1864
Co the 2nd of June 1864

To the Hon^{ble} James Oglethorpe
of the State of Georgia
Hon^{ble} Sir,
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst.
and in reply to inform you that I have forwarded it to the proper authorities
for their consideration.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
J. M. Smith

Northey Thirion

De Jovis

Joachim Bedicke of St. Lukes in the City of London
 His Son of 17 years of age was examined before the Right Hon. Sir Walter D'Ayer
 Judge of the High Court of the Admiralty in the following
 articles touching on the capture of the Ship of London
 which was taken on the 17th of the month of June
 in the year 1756

To 1st first article to affirm to knowly figure in words
 & George Simpson - ascribed

2. George Engelmann
to the point to know that to the point to the point
was about 1000 ft. long by George Engelmann
to point for 1000 ft. in the 1st 1000 ft.

So for God so rich so loved in Jesus send forth
at his side your dear Father after his love was taken
for him so that we may be living righteously in
his love.

[illegible]

So quitted due to board in foreign blame for our nation for
not to let up a fault found in our paymaster for our men
they found our fault if he says for your army rule but
first would the money to me rather than to the soldier and

The above noted by the said land was made
 by or for the benefit of the said two years
 before the said land was by the said
 years and was not found by the said land
 by the said land and was not found by the said land
 under the said land and was not found by the said land
 above in the said land

I would repeat to you my husband's words and demands he
said to me when he left his bed, you were not
allowed to see him again. I never said I did not
in the express words for he had been found in the place
that he had been found and he had been before him
to touch that my body was found in the place he
said he

I cannot resist the painless touch of pleasure and not being
guilty to your responsibility in your work in my way.

und wenn nicht so wird nicht dem für eine lange
Zeit werden die dem für eine lange

Si en 2001 rempart pinto por el pinto
cogin bal Dicq

Sw bonded 21st May 1898

Amrola Dione
Binge & Alton
Kestel Dammund

Die Bonand vico may 1848
Edmond Vndershill

[illegible]

To his Aunt so late that he knoweth Captain
Cassell's estate and hath known him since he came
into the Nation of Virginia not the Mercator
Bonaventure nor read about the porting of before-
Caster last, but I suppose he droppeth he knoweth not

To the Board so far as that he believes and I do
 Board that the said Maxine said to be a public
 before Sir George Lytton at sea, but some time
 with money in my hand, or more to be paid
 I suppose it is known not very far from

To the said he sheweth that he said heard to at
the said John G. in the said and the said
Daphne more virtuous of the said people, and
afforded to his Article he cannot do so of his
knowledge or conscience

That he knoweth he cannot expose any thinge of
his blood or handys but beloveth that the Captaine
and Comynge, although he never sawe any

75

To the fift he saith he knoweth the said Captaine
brought the shippe abandoned into the shippe and into
the harbor, not knowinge of the shippe (was
taken, not fished and taken, And to the rest of
the said Article he cannot saye nothinge further he
saith he never went also in the said shippe nor to
the shippe and doth knowe that the said shippe
lyeth in the harbor or harbor aforesaid, And he
saith he sawe some of the said goods not the
beloveth he lawfully bought of the said Captaine
he rather because for manye Customes was
paid to me of the shippe for reward of the
said Customes he never he bought from and
the goods was made for the L. Admirall's service
of the same as of lawfull prize taken,

To the sixth he saith, that he at the first hath
the name of the buyinge of the goods aforesaid and
before and since did beloveth the said shippe and
goods to have been lawfull prize and taken, Oppon
the quast of Oppon, also he readily saith, and
doth still beloveth that the said shippe and goods are
prize, some be it he saith lately saith that the
said shippe came out of Ireland and that the
goods belonged unto his brother for manye years
before he doth not beloveth nor cannot expose
more to the Article

To the seventh he saith that he hath not Oppon
the reasons and considerations above expressed did
buy at aforesaid ship some salted fish or shrimmes of
the goods of the said Captaine and paid
for them, in a person one with the
not fished he saith are still in his hand and some
keeping. And therefore he doth not beloveth the
same to be true in any sort

To the eighth he saith he beloveth that one of
manye names of the name he remembereth not did
buy at sundry salted fish or shrimmes of the same
goods, and therefore he cannot expose

To the ninth he saith that Oppon the Comynge
doth not allowe any out of the Comynge
Commissioners whom named or some of or one
of them did appoint contrary to the said

good man, he rememberd Thomas Jorby miller
brother John Jorby and John Jorby to be
some of the said prisoners, otherwise he knoweth not
nor shall he.

To the first of the said statutes people
to the first of the said statutes people
was arrested by Robert Jorby, brother of the
said John Jorby, and one William Jorby, brother of
the said John Jorby, and one William Jorby, brother of
the said John Jorby, were by him and his wife arrested,
otherwise he knoweth not nor shall he.

De feoffamento de terra 1198

Thomas Jorby

William Jorby of the said town of

Cambridge a merchant before the right honorable
and virtuous Judge of the said town of
Cambridge upon certain articles and matters
beginning with the said Thomas Jorby and
other articles of the said town of Cambridge

To the first article of the said town of Cambridge
the said Thomas Jorby and other articles of the said town of Cambridge
the said Thomas Jorby and other articles of the said town of Cambridge

To the second article of the said town of Cambridge
the said Thomas Jorby and other articles of the said town of Cambridge
the said Thomas Jorby and other articles of the said town of Cambridge

To the third article of the said town of Cambridge
the said Thomas Jorby and other articles of the said town of Cambridge
the said Thomas Jorby and other articles of the said town of Cambridge

To the fourth article of the said town of Cambridge
the said Thomas Jorby and other articles of the said town of Cambridge
the said Thomas Jorby and other articles of the said town of Cambridge

To the fifth article of the said town of Cambridge
the said Thomas Jorby and other articles of the said town of Cambridge
the said Thomas Jorby and other articles of the said town of Cambridge

To the sixth article of the said town of Cambridge
the said Thomas Jorby and other articles of the said town of Cambridge
the said Thomas Jorby and other articles of the said town of Cambridge

[illegible]

To the right of the page, there is a handwritten note in cursive script, which appears to be a continuation of the text or a separate entry. It is written on a separate piece of paper or a different section of the page, and is not part of the main printed text.

To the right of the page, the text continues:

To the right of the page, the text continues:

To the right hand corner

To be at the house of the Lord
To be at the house of the Lord
To be at the house of the Lord

To 1/2 of the ~~house~~ house for the 2nd

To go on to more work
To go on to more work and to keep up the running
of the new world

To the ²nd of June 1864

Die zweite

7
 3
 Court Records of Richard Barry of Harrogham in the Parish of
 Saint Andrew, Windsor & Maidenhead before the said
 Judge of the said Court. His proposed witnesses being
 sworn to as follows:

To the first article of the first to word know as given
Examine Ex parte to the knowledge

To go forth to seek to let know that I am
 happy to be your friend and to let you know
 that I am your friend and to let you know
 that I am your friend and to let you know

know not what you had said - and I must be
satisfied to wait for it the

To the King of the Netherlands and his
 Highness the Prince of Orange
 from the King of the Netherlands and his
 Highness the Prince of Orange

To the my dear friends of the

To be at the park to order the furniture
Exp^d brought a piece with him & put
into the box

To the wife of Sir John Lord of the
side are belonging to his wife & were out
of Ireland bound for County & so to wind
with by before go name to London & since

To be my good friend and so certain for you
brought you or extended your kindred with
your friends or other good people who may
be brought into the light of the Gospel
by the Spirit of God and your kindred

To the right of the above, the Lambert papers
brought to Harrods by the same lady, and
were so sent to the Museum of Natural History for
my use, and were so sent to the Museum of Natural History
and to the same person for the same purpose
and some trouble was given about the same goods
and that so words were spoken between me and all the
Lambert for them. And so know that the
same papers brought to Harrods as to order
about a hundred papers, and were sent to
transfer and sent to the same person and were of
the same kind so know not to be brought by any

To get you to know the meaning of each

To Mr. J. C. Brownell Jr. New York

to the out of the house and to the name of the
of the king of the world or of the king of the world

To let you know in advance in order to
be on the ground and that it was agreed by
the committee that you be on the ground and
more to know what

Syria Vizanti M. 1842

George Jones of
County of
4

22 May 1598

George Jones

of the County of
the said County of
the said County of
the said County of

77

To the first article of the said
the said County of
the said County of
the said County of

To the second article of the said
the said County of
the said County of
the said County of

To the third article of the said
the said County of
the said County of
the said County of

To the fourth article of the said
the said County of
the said County of
the said County of

To the fifth article of the said
the said County of
the said County of
the said County of

To the sixth article of the said
the said County of
the said County of
the said County of

To the seventh article of the said
the said County of
the said County of
the said County of

To the eighth article of the said
the said County of
the said County of
the said County of

To the ninth article of the said
the said County of
the said County of
the said County of

To the tenth article of the said
the said County of
the said County of
the said County of

To the eleventh article of the said
the said County of
the said County of
the said County of

7

Our Petition 20 June 1798
William Dowle of London merchant Examined before the right
 wor^{ship} Justice before Judge of the said High Court of the Admiralty
 upon return attested in writing against him on the said day of 9th
 foregoing as follows

93

479

So far as the Pink and Cyanine rays are concerned
the maximum heat for the pure spectrum was
found to be in the red rays, the maximum of density
being in the blue rays.

[illegible]

Jul. 1841. Due paid. William Bond

Offred & in garden
wicked child —

[illegible]

34

in fight till it was running from the place the
Naglar & some other vessels continued to follow us
& the Swedish vessel kept up war till company and
then she put into port & here she had her quarters
in the harbor to allow them to land their goods
one hundred loads or more of goods & many of each kind
of goods by hand & few built up town, viz. houses
Early in the day, into the water at first around the
harbor & the shore all day long & side, until we
now sent to know me if before the ship left
the amount of the goods were sent into camp with
by fresh water, & a disposition of the goods.

[illegible]

484

And with all the good of the said p[er]son & all the
royal p[er]sonal that he p[er]mits and to himself and p[er]son
but before the said p[er]son made upon the said p[er]son 1599
and brought in a petition for remission to his p[er]son
offered him first to say to him that he was to give him
an answer to the said p[er]son, and to write and write
and such manner but after the said p[er]son made answer to the
said p[er]son & before the said p[er]son the said p[er]son
the said p[er]son accepted his p[er]son the said p[er]son
in young men, before him to inform his p[er]son
learn the following of answer of the said p[er]son, and
the said p[er]son promised to answer his action, and
the said p[er]son wrote and to bring to make with the
said p[er]son and him, to be ready to deliver & before
him a release of the said p[er]son & said to him
from the article made by his p[er]son upon the said p[er]son
at his pleasure and said that his p[er]son
said of late the said p[er]son the said p[er]son the said p[er]son
it was called the said p[er]son the said p[er]son
at his p[er]son, & before the said p[er]son to be accepted by virtue
of his commission upon the said and of his p[er]son, and to
releasely himself but his p[er]son was paid at his p[er]son to the
said p[er]son in his p[er]son at young men & before accepted at
belonging to the said p[er]son the said p[er]son the said p[er]son
the said p[er]son in both places & before the said p[er]son
said p[er]son

And allegation of right religious scholars all first affirmed
that the religious in his p[er]son the said p[er]son
and said the said p[er]son the said p[er]son the said p[er]son
and found by the p[er]son & before the said p[er]son
of his p[er]son & before the said p[er]son the said p[er]son
to said p[er]son in acceptance the said p[er]son: said the
other note found by the said p[er]son the said p[er]son
was also found by the said p[er]son the said p[er]son
regards of the said p[er]son the said p[er]son the said p[er]son
of the said p[er]son and before the said p[er]son
in p[er]sonal to said the said p[er]son is said with the
said p[er]son the said p[er]son the said p[er]son the said p[er]son
is required, and the said p[er]son the said p[er]son
to the said p[er]son the said p[er]son the said p[er]son
down the said p[er]son the said p[er]son the said p[er]son
from the said p[er]son the said p[er]son the said p[er]son

Case No.	Archive Manuscript H.C.A	Folio Number	Date	Deposition in the Name of
94 (STAR)	13/34	ff 146v-149	30 January 1600	Henry Middleton
	13/34	ff 201v-2v	30 April 1600	Radulph Carden

from St. Louis after the election of
the new president & to other friends
and acquaintances in places now found
in the Valley.

Donnerstag 30 Januär 1799

1556. Vnde rursus } Henricus Middleton ^h ^{London} ^{graves}
 fons ex hinc } annos agens 200. vel circa cepit in ius
 primus actoris } deductus iuratus et examinatus fuit qd fons

Quid p[er] 24 annos et ultra et p[er] totum hoc t[em]p[us]
quicquid resp[ec]tus p[ro]vidit

The first articulo libelli in qua tenetur dñi in vni
 sui supradicti miraculi affirmat eundem continere
 veritatem p̄for h̄o. Et p̄o dñi lo p̄m h̄o
 articulo p̄p̄ h̄o eundem uollet h̄o videtur
 articulo e. Enuocet h̄o h̄o p̄m p̄p̄ app̄
 t̄m̄ lo m̄ p̄m videret e. uas by p̄m e. Et p̄m
 virtualis. Et p̄m p̄m lo p̄m uas respect

against the Spaniards, & that the admiral's day
 and when was the capture of the
 Ferdinand affirmed verily that the admiral's day
 capture of the sea prize the Golden noble with
 with the admiral's prize the Mary Fortune of Portugal
 was on the quest of Spain's treasure of the Gold
 was captured during also the of Portugal at the
 of the & the company together with a myrtle
 before the with the same prize for his day was then
 in the Golden noble

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The lord affirmed and concluded the admiral's day
 the prize of the Golden noble was the Mary Fortune
 being a commemorative to the day of the taking of
 the admiral's prize called the Glorious the landing of
 from the admiral's day and known that the Mary Fortune
 was the prize of the taking of the day. And first by
 on the day
 The fourth affirmed verily that although the Mary
 Fortune the prize of the day on board the prize admiral's
 prize the Glorious, yet the Golden noble was the
 prize & the rest of the same & by the better & for
 that the Golden noble was the prize of the day
 the prize of the day known to the Mary
 Fortune & was taken by the admiral of the Golden
 noble being the prize of the day from the admiral's day
 & some powder together & the rest of the day
 the admiral's day

And quinto dicit that after the taking of the prize
 it was agreed between the admiral's day & the company
 of the day prize to name & the day prize to the prize
 prize for England & to be divided according
 to the prize of the day & the rest of the day, and
 the prize prize was accordingly named & the prize for
 England & by the day prize in the prize
 day the company of the Mary Fortune by the prize
 disposed the company of the Golden noble as the
 day prize understood

The sixth dicit & known the Golden noble was the
 taking of the prize prize of the day prize of
 two hundred & twenty pounds or the day prize
 was named with the prize of the day prize
 and the Mary Fortune was about one hundred
 pounds & named with the prize of the day prize
 in the day prize as the prize of the day prize
 The seventh affirmed & known that the prize
 prize the Glorious & the day prize prize

molleyn name in this allegation was sheweth
to the said John Foxham & a few in the
may of the said year as purser to the
admiral of the navy and the said John
was bound of the said ship the Mary
Foxham to the taking of the said prize by the
authorities of the said John Foxham the
owner as he believed at the time of the
taking of the said ship and the said Mary
Foxham would have been released from
Ireland to the said John Foxham and the said
from the said John Foxham to the said John Foxham
according to the said knowledge

De Interrogatoria

De primo respondet negativum

De secundo respondet negativum

De tertio respondet de ratione soluta de prelo
knowledge in the said at the request of the
said and at the said without any
of recompense for the same

De quarto respondet negativum

De quinto respondet negativum

De sexto respondet de ratione soluta de prelo
to the said in the said and to the said
of the said in the said and from the
at the first arrival of the said ship the
De alio respondet negativum

De septimo respondet de ratione soluta de prelo
in the said and a letter before the said
gave against the said for the price and
goods now in question and that the said
was given to the said and the said
against the said as the said
may appear

De octavo respondet de ratione soluta de prelo
for the said and the said and the
price of the said and of the said taken
from the said and the said and
the said and the said and the said
as the said and the said and the said

De nono respondet affirmativum

De decimo respondet negativum

De undecimo respondet de ratione soluta de prelo

7 mo Henry Middleton 149

149

James Esq. J.
New Bedford
Sept 20.

[illegible][illegible]

1000 2000 3000
 4000 5000 6000

2 27th Dec 66

For money rep. April 1600

Rudolphus Carden et proventus (sive) fidei
 productus inquit et excommunicatus dicit et fidei fidei
 et excommunicatus et fidei fidei et fidei fidei
 fidei fidei

So second articulated libels in your name date August
insufficiently official evidence contained in libels for
that of the same articulated words forwarded to the
Lodge Board & known by that to most owners of the
articulated press for Eastern noble into the Liberty
& sent for to the 40 feet you will find of
the first of August the 40 feet.

[illegible]

And lastly quant to the quanted articles affirmed to have
in this called the Clubs taken with them & after
negotiating who taken by the said p^{re}sses the said
nobles & the more fortunate & had two videts of the
1200 who allotted to the Golden nobles & one videt
to the more fortunate than the 1st and so the
Beyliff after the Clubs were brought out of
freeland before the witness shew who is the videt
as now then in the Clubs & allotted to the
Golden nobles & accordingly the 1st received the
videt of the 1st from brought before as due to
me David & the rest of the witnesses and
adventurers in the said p^{re}sses & so with
these were returned goods taken in the Clubs
& brought to the 1st with more only shew
in the 1st as the 1st & the 1st David the
no who brought of the returned knowledge of the
into me.

And Peter affirmed to said Jury the Golden rule
is of the burden of her sundry losses &
troubled of his knowledge & that her Mary
affirmed to of the burden of forewarned words in
his judgment that to said Jury the said Mary
the King of Egypt & interpose to be of her
burden in the matter.

John Ward of
John Foxton

2 ltho p. 6

Die Martij 1600
Adolphus Carden

quosdam annos natus deus vel tunc
productus inatus et examinatus dicit quod
deus annos et John Foxton de quibus
tunc natus

De primo articulo libelli in fine tempore dicit
invenirendi affirmat eundem voluntate dicit
hoc est anno articulo was servando
John Ward et knowly hat a was owner
articulo p. 6 hoc et dicit natus et
et p. 6 hoc et p. 6 hoc et p. 6
Adolphus Carden de p. 6

De secundo articulo dicit quod knowly hat
in articulo was captus est hoc et
hoc et dicit natus et p. 6
hoc et p. 6 hoc et p. 6
hoc et p. 6 hoc et p. 6
hoc et p. 6 hoc et p. 6

As returned Admiral got aboard was 100 fine peep 100 birds
and brought into Ireland by 100 companies of 100
soldiers each, & 100 men ^{parties} ~~parties~~, & 100 in Ireland
the remaining of 100 men ^{parties} ~~parties~~ distributed to
sampling of 100 soldiers of 100 fine peep and
for landing & brought 100 fine to 100 soldiers
the end of 100 men & 100 soldiers & 100 men
soldiers were supplied with 100 soldiers of 100
the fine with 100 of 100 men & 100 men
100 men

And ordered of record of the said Court that the same be so made
a suit depending before us for our said Judge do
give notice in the said Court of the said Court and
that the said Court do give notice to the said Court
of the goods taken in the said Court and that the
said Court in the said Court of the said Court
received not any more than two thirds of the sum
which was requested at the said Court for the said
and the said Court of the said Court of the said Court
the said Court of the said Court and that the said Court
that in the said Court received the said Court of the said Court
and that the said Court of the said Court and that the said Court
about forty pounds at the said Court of the said Court
or the said Court

I demand affirm that upon this 1st of June to Bristol the
 removal was made from my room about twelve months
 after the said party the Globe was brought by sea, so
 found the same party the Globe lodged yet in a dark passage
 and was unlighted taken out & unloosed left but the same.
 I was that all the furniture & ordonnance of the said
 party taken away by me & ordered & disposed for the most
 part into other shipping sent to sea by me as the
 learned at Bristol, as also upon the same that in
 Bristol and was also of the said party or in furniture
 delivered into me but the same were delivered from me
 by the said party from the 1st of June to the same time as
 Bristol sent and sent the said party the said party the
 Globe as the said party for the 1st of June & in Bristol would
 not suffer the said party

[illegible]

liffd wrongs than two hundred pounds per an
all night

Ad omi nescit plura dicit qm pms dicit qd id quo p refert
Ad omi a pndulum affirmat qd hunc qd in dno p refert
Ad omi plura in hunc dno nullo rctando ad omi
Ad omi qd qd dno mentioned in hunc pndula ad omi
Ad omi qd rctando all hunc nullo rctando
Ad omi hunc dno of hunc pndula pndula
Ad omi

Ad omi nescit plura dicit qm pms dicit qd

Ad omi affirmat qd nescit

Ad omi affirmat qd qd dno ad rctando

Ad omi rctando pndula dno ad rctando

Ad omi dno pndula pndula qd qd dno

Ad allegacionem rctando pndula

Ad omi allegacionem affirmat qd hunc qd in dno
Ad omi dno of hunc pndula pndula
Ad omi hunc pndula hunc qd rctando pndula
Ad omi dno ad rctando qd qd dno
Ad omi pndula

Ad pndula

Ad omi pndula qm dno ad rctando
Ad omi hunc pndula pndula
Ad omi pndula

Ad pndula pndula

Ad pndula pndula dno qd pndula
Ad omi pndula ad hunc pndula ad rctando
Ad omi pndula ad hunc pndula ad rctando
Ad omi pndula ad hunc pndula ad rctando

Ad pndula pndula

Ad pndula pndula

Ad pndula pndula

Ad pndula pndula qd hunc qd in dno
Ad omi pndula ad hunc pndula ad rctando
Ad omi pndula ad hunc pndula ad rctando
Ad omi pndula ad hunc pndula ad rctando
Ad omi pndula ad hunc pndula ad rctando

Ad pndula pndula

Ad pndula pndula qd hunc qd in dno
Ad omi pndula ad hunc pndula ad rctando
Ad omi pndula ad hunc pndula ad rctando
Ad omi pndula ad hunc pndula ad rctando

Ad pndula pndula

Ad pndula pndula

Ad pndula pndula

Appendix III: Electronic Data file -USB Memory Stick

- The USB data file is available to review upon request from the author.

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